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The Nation

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Vol. CXXXVI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1933 No. 3542

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States; to Canada, $5.50; and to other foreign countries, $6.00.

THE NATION, No. 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Muriel C. Gray, Advertising Manager. British Agent, Gertrude M. Cross, 23 Brunswick Square, London W. C. 1, England.

BEFORE HE TOOK OFFICE Mr. Roosevelt announced that he was opposed to a sales tax. But in the Administration's new industrial-control and public-works program there is now a suggestion for laying a flat sales tax of about 1⅛ per cent to raise the necessary $220,000,000 for the annual interest on, and amortization of, the proposed $3,300,000,000 bond issue for public works. The sales tax is not to be called that, however, but a "reemployment tax." It will be very difficult logically, of course, for any Congressman who voted for the farm bill to oppose this new suggestion. The farm bill involves a potential sales tax of 100 to 200 per cent on the necessaries of life; and no one can consistently vote for such flat taxes on consumption and refuse to vote for a mere general tax of 1 or 2 per cent more on consumption. If the opponents of the new sales tax argue that the tax on farm products was for the laudable purpose of aiding the harassed farmer, friends of the plan can reply that the new tax is for the equally laudable purpose of providing employment. It is probably safer to return to the view that all public expenditure is or ought to be for a desirable social purpose and that all revenues should be raised from those most able to pay them. Such a principle might cause us to reexamine our federal income tax, the rates of which are still very low compared with those in the British income tax, and ask whether it is really true that that tax at present is yielding the maximum revenue.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S signature on the farm bill was hardly dry when he stated that its one most direct and important proposal for relief would have to be indefinitely postponed. He decided, doubtless correctly, that the scheme for raising prices through reduced production, processors' taxes, and import duties would be contrary to the "tariff truce" in connection with the World Economic Conference. As the President had already announced that inflation of the currency was in abeyance, this leaves the farmer nothing immediate except the rarefied relief of the proposed refinancing of mortgages at 4½ per cent—a rate much too high to arouse his gratitude. In the meantime he has been doing much better for himself through direct action. Although the farmers' "strike" set for May 13 was officially called off as a national movement, it nevertheless went into effect in certain regions, while in others the mere threat was sufficient to gain important concessions. Milk distributors in Chicago raised the price paid to Illinois farmers, and in New York State the new commission to fix rates went even beyond the dairymen's demands, granting them 4 cents a quart when they had asked for only 3½ cents. Farmers may well be encouraged at the success of their efforts to help themselves instead of waiting for the politicians to help them. We look for the use of direct tactics among them much more in the future, and if they can be led to see the wisdom of tying up with organized labor in the cities, a real gain will have been made toward assuring the producers of our wealth some control over it.

THE UTTER CALLOUSNESS with which the average public official views crime in high places was reflected by the testimony of John W. Pole, former Comptroller of the Currency, before the Senate committee investigating the Harriman bank fraud. Explaining that the Harriman case was only a "routine affair," Pole said that "defalcations are common matters in the Comptroller's office, you know." When Senator Robinson of Indiana asked him whether defalcations by bank presidents were common, Pole calmly replied, "Yes," as though it were a matter of no importance whatever. Previously F. G. Awalt, Acting Comptroller, had testified that "between 500 and 600 defalcations" were uncovered every year by his office. And what happens? The cases are reported to the Department of Justice; about 300 convictions are obtained annually, and of the bankers convicted, according to Senator Robinson, the majority "get off on probation." Despite these damning disclosures no one in Washington seems at all concerned about the situation. Least of all Attorney-General Cummings. He speaks mildly of his desire to go after the big criminals, but first, he says, everything must be investigated in accordance with the usual legal forms. But how about the foreign-

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steamship case discussed recently in the columns of *The Nation*? The facts in this case, one of the biggest income-tax evasions on record, have been before the Department of Justice for years. Nevertheless, the Attorney-General, in replying to inquiries of newspaper correspondents, told them that "some time" would be required to make the "necessary" investigation.

THAT the Social Democratic Party, and with it every remaining vestige of an independent labor movement, would sooner or later fall under the wheels of the Hitler juggernaut was a certainty for which that party, unfortunately, was all too little prepared. The destruction of all opposition in every field of public life is fundamental fascist politics. But the raids of May 10 were more than that. They were part of a diabolical scheme to undermine what not even the confiscation of headquarters, newspapers, and bank accounts could touch—the confidence of the masses in their proletarian leaders. It was with this purpose in view that the German press, a few days after the raids, published an official statement that accountants going over the books of the free trade unions had found evidence of such widespread corruption that the property of the Social Democratic Party was confiscated to safeguard the money of the German workers from the dishonesty of their leaders. According to Dr. Ley, the newly appointed commissar for coordinated trade-union activity, leading trade unionists will be indicted for malfeasance in office and for the embezzlement of funds, and Socialist leaders will be prosecuted for aiding and abetting this corruption. "The German worker will learn with amazement," says Dr. Ley, "that his leaders have not only deserted him at a time when he needs them most, but betrayed and defrauded him while they were at the zenith of their power." The German Social Democracy, which believed it would be possible to function under the Nazi regime is paying heavily for its shortsighted optimism.

OFFICIAL GERMANY is in high dudgeon over the assertion of Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, that the exclusion of those "tainted" with Jewish blood from the 1936 contest prevents its being held in Germany as scheduled. The German government promises that visitors and contestants from foreign countries will be welcome, but what true sportsman would desire welcome under such auspices? Moreover, Germany's protestations become less reassuring in the light of recent events in its own athletic circles. Dr. Theodor Lewald, chairman of the German Olympics Committee, was forced to resign because his grandfather was a Jew; Dr. Daniel Prenn, German Davis Cup tennis star, was stricken from the list of Germany's net representatives by the government; and the splendidly equipped central school of the Workers' Sport and Athletic Association, an institution erected at an expense of more than 2,000,000 marks by the workers' gymnastic organizations, has been expropriated. As a result of Nazi intrusions into the field of sport, Frau Nelly Neppach, Germany's best-known woman tennis player, seven times the winner of the German championship, committed suicide. These incidents prompted the Englishman, Abrahams, victor in the 100-meter dash in the Paris Olympic games of 1924; René Lacoste, the French tennis player, and his countrywoman Suzanne Lenglen; R. Schaffer, the Hungarian football champion; and several other stars of the international sport firmament to issue a statement refusing to participate in the next Olympic games if they were held in a Nazi-ruled Germany. Polish, French, and British sport circles will probably petition for a transfer of the Olympic games to some other country. Meanwhile, evidence accumulates that the world-wide boycott against German goods is beginning to be felt. The absence of British, French, and American buyers from the long-renowned fur auction at Leipzig caused some $3,000,000 worth of furs to be withdrawn from sale. In New York, on May 14, 600 delegates representing 288 organizations resolved "to boycott all goods, materials, or products manufactured, raised, or improved in Germany, or any part thereof; all German shipping, freight, and traffic services, as well as all German health, pleasure, and other resorts, and generally to abstain from any act which would in any manner lend material support to the present regime in Germany."

PARAGUAY'S DECLARATION of war against Bolivia is clear proof of the impotence of existing peace machinery. Both countries are members of the League of Nations, and Paraguay was a signer of the Kellogg Pact, under which it renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Munitions lay at the bottom of the declaration of war. Armaments intended for Bolivia, which is landlocked, have to come across Chilean territory. The government at Asunción hoped its action would compel Chile to declare itself neutral and stop this traffic. Paraguay, having access to the sea, could continue to receive munitions direct from the manufacturing countries. Paraguay's declaration of war is a frank confession that without this supply of armaments the Gran Chaco dispute would never have reached the stage of open hostilities. An international embargo would in all likelihood have prevented the declaration of war and the months of desultory fighting which preceded it. A large proportion of the munitions have come from the United States and it is probable that the firms supplying them have helped to block the adoption by Congress of the resolution authorizing the President to join with other Powers in laying a general arms embargo. The League Assembly several months ago made known its desire to join with this country in an embargo on munitions shipments to Paraguay and Bolivia, but the President could not act without authority. It is essential to the peace of the world that the pending embargo resolution be approved without further delay.

IT IS a commonly accepted doctrine that civil liberty is an offspring of political and economic security; it is born when a ruling class is well intrenched in power and can afford to be generous toward its opponents. There is much to be said in justification of this view, but it hardly seems to be in conformity with the annual survey of the American Civil Liberties Union, which finds marked improvement in the attitude of the federal and State governments toward civil liberties. Certainly there is nothing in the present condition of the United States to give even the most self-assured much confidence in the permanence of its institutions and traditions. It seems more likely that at the present time civic tolerance is a child of unsettled beliefs and of the fact that people generally are so much occupied with a reorientation of their own convictions that they are not disposed to be

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dogmatic toward those of others. Anyhow the findings of the American Civil Liberties Union are worth attention. For the first time in years no one is in prison under criminal-syndicalism or sedition laws in any State or colony except the Philippines. "No cases of mail exclusion by the Post Office Department are hanging fire. The Department of Labor has ceased persecuting alien radicals." In eight States laws limiting injunctions in labor disputes have been passed within a year. Proposed legislation for loyalty oaths for teachers has generally been defeated except in Delaware. In Kentucky all the criminal-syndicalism indictments growing out of the coal strike have been quashed.

OF COURSE there is another side to the story. There are still several nationally notorious cases of injustice of long standing, notably the Mooney-Billings case, dating back to 1916; the Centralia (Washington) Armistice Day case, 1919; and the Scottsboro case, 1931. Most of the more recent repressive tendencies, says the American Civil Liberties Union, have been local manifestations. The worst local areas are in the South, where the issue of Negro rights has been raised in several places; southern California, where the Better America Federation and the American Legion have broken up radical meetings; the coal fields of southern Illinois, where there is an iron-handed effort to crush independent unionism; and the cities of Chicago and Boston. It is noted also that in Michigan and Iowa, criminal-syndicalism laws have been invoked for the first time in American history against farmers—for opposition to mortgage-foreclosure sales. Perhaps we should not be too quick to conclude that the immediate situation indicates a tendency toward greater tolerance, nor be in haste to modify our theories of the origin of liberty in consequence. The period under scrutiny is too short, and the facts cited are too inadequate, to justify broad generalizations. Maybe all that we are having is an interlude. It is something, certainly, for which to be grateful, but it does not justify us in relaxing our vigilance.

WHILE GROWN MEN hunt for work and model factories lie idle, undersized children twelve to sixteen years old are working ten and twelve hours a day for two or three dollars a week in dark and filthy sweatshops through the industrial East. That is one of the more gruesome of the many paradoxes of the depression in America. The children in Allentown, Pennsylvania, were lucky enough to enlist the wife of Governor Pinchot in their cause. As a result their strike became news even in the columns of our leading optimistic dailies, and some of the strikers at least won an increase in wages and a minimum-wage guaranty. But the significance of the Allentown incident lies in the fact that it is not exceptional. Sweatshops flourish in every industrial State which has lax labor laws or indifferent enforcement. They persist mainly of course because of the vast supply of unemployed labor, but another contributing factor is the inadequacy of unemployment relief. In thousands of American homes meager public relief is being supplemented by the long labor of children who are more easily exploited than their elders. The press could undertake no more important public service than to expose mercilessly the conditions which exist in hundreds of factories. Full publicity combined with a boycott of goods produced under such conditions could drive the sweatshop out of existence.

OUT OF 21,725 STUDENTS in 65 colleges who have so far taken part in the nation-wide college poll on war, 15,636 have voted for peace. Of these 8,415 pledged themselves to absolute pacifism; 7,221 said they would bear arms only in case of actual invasion of this country. The other six thousand voted to fight or serve in any war involving the United States. The colleges involved are scattered through 27 States. The pacifist poll, not yet complete, is being conducted by the Brown University *Daily Herald,* which originated the war against war, the Intercollegiate Disarmament Council, and the National Student Federation. It is one of the most encouraging developments that have recently come out of American college life. It has aroused opposition in the expected quarters. In the Pennsylvania Senate a resolution has been introduced to penalize the holders of Senatorial scholarships at the University of Pennsylvania who have declared that they will not bear arms in defense of the country. The scholarships would be revoked and given to "more deserving" students. The New York *Times* dismissed the whole affair very early as a passing college fad. And the common method of attack is the easy remark that when war comes, pacifist pledges will be mere scraps of paper. The revenge which older people most often visit upon eager youth is to predict for it the same failures which the elders themselves made. We hope the young pacifists of America will ignore the example and the condescension.

IN NAMING JAMES BRYANT CONANT as its president, Harvard University has selected a scientist. He is in the fullest sense an academic product, who in a teaching career of less than a decade and a half achieved the highest possible distinction in his field—the Sheldon Emery Professorship of Organic Chemistry and the chairmanship of the department of chemistry. For his researches in oxidation, hemoglobin, and free radicals he received the Chandler Medal of Columbia University, and for his discoveries concerning the nature of chlorophyll the Nichols Medal of the American Chemical Society. Friendly comment on Professor Conant's call to the presidency stresses his opposition to narrow specialization, and cites, in corroboration, his joint work with associates in the departments of physics and of physiology. The Harvard authorities deserve praise in not choosing a financier or business man. No less gratifying is their reaching out beyond the dwindling circle of Back Bay Brahmans to a mere graduate of Roxbury Latin School, whose "only club is the Harvard Club," to quote the venerable Boston *Transcript.* Professor Conant has an admirable scholarly record, but one searches in vain in his career for evidence of a broad social consciousness, of an awareness of the great crisis which confronts our age. Problems more profound than any within our history challenge the coming generation, to the guidance of which the new head of one of our great institutions of learning must devote himself. What may we anticipate of his vision and dynamism in apprehending and directing the processes of momentous change and integrating education with them? His life has been that of the laboratory and classroom. His brief contacts with the outside world have been as expert and consultant for great corporations. One may wonder whether he is of that category of technicians for whom the captains of industry loom as great men, wisely intrusted with the destinies of our social order.

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Is This the "Turn"?

SINCE the low point of the present depression was reached in March, there has been an improvement of astonishing proportions in business sentiment, in prices, and in volume of activity. Attention in recent weeks has for the most part been concentrated on the speculative markets. On the Stock Exchange the average price of fifty railroad and industrial stocks, according to the compilations of the New York *Times,* rose from 46.85, the low point of March 2, to 75.41 on May 11, a rise of 61 per cent in ten weeks. In the wheat, cotton, and other commodity markets the advance has been equally sensational. Wheat, for example, has risen more than 30 cents a bushel to a price in the neighborhood of 75 cents; corn has advanced about 23 cents a bushel from its lowest point, and rye 20 to 26 cents.

There has been a tendency in some quarters to dismiss all this as a mere gamblers' holiday; but such a view overlooks several important aspects of the situation. The rise in the commodity markets, if it can be sustained, has of course immediate meaning for the farmers, and whatever raises the farmers' purchasing power has meaning for general industry. The stock-market rise, too, apart from the fortuitous wealth it throws into the hands of the speculators, may prove to have a real barometric meaning.

The present upward movement of industry itself has been more emphatic, both in rapidity and in extent, than any since the depression began. The revised weekly New York *Times* index of business activity shows an advance in physical volume of activity from 60 per cent of an estimated "normal" in the week ended March 18 of this year to 74.1 per cent in the week ended May 6. This advance far outstrips that which took place from January to April both in 1930 and in 1931, as well as the much more pronounced advance from August to December last year. Of course the present advance is so sharp partly because it represents a recovery from the violent drop in the weeks just preceding and following the general shutdown of the banks. The recovery, however, has not merely wiped out the losses of those weeks; it has gone so far that on the *Times* index activity now stands at the highest point since January of 1932.

This index, it is to be noted, has no relation to dollar values, but is based entirely on physical units—freight-car loadings, steel-mill activity, electric-power, automobile, and lumber production, and cotton forwardings. In the steel industry alone the improvement has been remarkable. Production has mounted from 16 per cent of capacity in the week ended April 1 to 30 per cent in the last week of the month, 33 per cent in the first week of May, and 35 per cent in the second week of May. The improvement has appeared, finally, in the retail field. "Reports received from leading centers of distribution," says the latest *Dun and Bradstreet* review, "emphasize the steadily gaining weekly volume of retail sales. . . . As retail prices generally persist at a low level, the increased dollar volume is indicative of the continued rise in unit turnover. . . . Sales of new automobiles are increasing. . . . A better volume of rural buying was reported and mail-order houses have increased their shipments following the recent price advance in live stock."

If the recovery is real enough so far as it goes, its chief significance lies, of course, in the possibility that it may at last mark a turning-point in the course of economic affairs. In relative extent it is of negligible importance compared with the preceding downward trend. If even a million men have been put back to work in the last two months, there are still in excess of twelve million out of work. We have therefore to ask what the probabilities are that the present upward movement will continue.

Before we can attempt to answer this question we should ask what have been the causes of the present recovery. The first of them was, of course, the reopening of the banks; but as all the banks did not reopen, this by itself could not even explain a return to the volume of business that existed before the banks closed. Certainly an important—but far from the sole—factor was our abandonment of the gold standard. The belief that we were to embark on a course of inflation or devaluation led to a discount on the dollar, and this discount reflected itself in a rise in security and commodity prices. Some of the "sound-money" advocates have talked as if the rise in prices had occurred *in spite of* our abandonment of gold; but this would hardly account for the fact that the general level of American wholesale prices, according to Dun's index number, advanced 4½ per cent even before the end of April, whereas prices in both France and Great Britain showed a decline in April. Irving Fisher's weekly index number shows that by May 15 wholesale prices here had advanced 8⅛ per cent from the year's low point on March 5. The discount on the dollar cannot, however, account for more than a part of the improvement, for a better sentiment has been reflected lately in the reports from Great Britain and other foreign countries.

When we ask whether the present recovery is likely to continue, we must avoid falling into the cardinal error that has been made by most of the economic prophets time and again in the last five years. There are no automatic reasons why prices and business activity should go either up or down. Charts and tables of statistics, therefore, in themselves can give us very little help in foreseeing the future. The prospects of improvement, as we ought to have learned by this time, depend upon what statesmen, business men, and bankers do to improve things. The most important immediate decisions still have to come from the world's statesmen. Much of the recent recovery has been the result of the world's increasing hope that at last in the forthcoming World Economic Conference there is a prospect of international cooperation—that some sort of economic truce will be called, that trade barriers will be lowered and debts adjusted, and that the principal nations will return to a stable currency basis, presumably at a level on which such a stability can be maintained. A large part of this hope undoubtedly rests on some of the recent actions and statements, affecting both the domestic and the foreign situation, of the Roosevelt Administration. The initial momentum has been secured. It depends upon the world's statesmen whether that momentum is to be maintained, or whether we are to witness the end of one more abortive recovery.

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Our New Role in Europe

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S address to the world on peace and disarmament did more than express a hope and sound a warning. It announced the determination of the United States to take an active part in international arrangements to promote good relations and stability, and the President's personal determination to assume a role of leadership in world affairs. With his admirable willingness to ignore conventional restrictions he addressed his appeal to the governments of all nations, including Russia. And although he talked for the most part in general terms, his explicit support of the MacDonald disarmament proposal went far to commit the United States to an official share in consultations to be conducted in the event of a violation of the Pact of Paris. His proposal of a new non-aggression pact seems of little importance except as a device to rally and unite international public opinion in defense of peace.

The urgency of the European situation gave ample excuse for the President's dramatic move and lent to his appeal an almost desperate significance. Out of the confused muddle at Geneva a few facts emerge. The first and most important is the isolation of Germany. Hitler's rise to power and the truculent and obstructive attitude of the German delegates at the disarmament conference have combined to cut Germany off more completely than at any time since the war. German nationalism has created a new warlike mood in Europe. British sentiment, long favorable to German aspirations, has changed with dramatic violence in the course of the last few weeks. Italy, which devised the plan to put Germany on an arms parity with France and Britain and itself, has become wary of further pro-German commitments. The Little Entente has drawn together in a formal union to protect its interests. France goes farther. Dispatches quote Foreign Minister Paul-Boncour as asserting the readiness of France to "take a strong aggressive stand and join all the foes of Nazidom in an effort to crush the National Socialist regime by peaceful means." The last three words should not deceive anyone as to the intention behind this pronouncement.

Revision is for the present inconceivable. A change in the unjust treaties that doubtless brought Hitler into power must now, ironically enough, be delayed until Hitler is eliminated. Even Germany's reasonable territorial claims take on the aspect of threats in the light of the tyrannical methods and aggressive aims of the Nazi Government. Similarly the hope of effective disarmament is weakened. Hitler's current protestations of peaceful intent can hardly be taken seriously in view of the blood and iron which permeate his whole philosophy. France can quote Nazi threats as evidence of the need of military preparedness. Poland and the Little Entente know well that the Hitler Government will demand slices of their territory as soon as it can back its desires with the necessary force. Even Italy begins to look askance at Hitler's determination to extend his Teutonic fascism down to the Italian border. To allow Germany to rearm would be to announce the next European war; while disarmament on the part of the other Powers has seemed inconceivable without some new source of reassurance.

And yet world peace and world recovery hang upon the achievement of genuine measures of arms reduction at Geneva. Without these the economic conference in London seems doomed to failure, and no one has dared to calculate the effects that that failure would bring with it. President Roosevelt plainly realizes the crucial connection between London and Geneva; he knows that behind the tariff barricades are guns and that one cannot be lowered without the other. For this reason the economic conversations in Washington have inevitably veered to questions of conciliation and disarmament. But talk is vain and the hope of peace a frail one unless a sense of security is conjured into being at Geneva. And security has come to mean one thing—an agreement among the nations, including the United States, to attempt to reach some common basis for action in event of a violation of existing treaties. Without the adherence of the United States, such an agreement will be no more reassuring than other post-war arrangements have been. With the United States, the fears of Europe might subside sufficiently to permit the necessary first steps toward disarmament.

The time has come when we can no longer dodge international responsibilities. The one thing that must be prevented on the face of Europe is a new resort to arms. An agreement on the part of the United States, such as is implied in Mr. Roosevelt's address, to join in consultation with other nations whenever a treaty violation occurs, would do much to make such violations unlikely.

In taking these steps toward international cooperation our government should be wary lest it find itself acting as a tail to the French kite. Obviously we do not wish to join an anti-German alliance, no matter how carefully disguised it may be in garments of peace. If we oppose German aggression we should equally oppose any attempt to find in Hitlerism an excuse for French or British aggression. The peace must be kept; and the only sort of cooperation possible between the United States and Europe is cooperation in preventing the use of arms to satisfy ambitions or to settle claims.

Rivera's Revolution

THAT monstrous Armenian orphan of the depression, Rockefeller Center, is having art trouble again. Statues by Gwen Lux and William Zorach which had been ordered and set up, and Robert Edmond Jones who had been hired as art director, were all thrown out of Radio City because the mind of Roxy, softened by too much contact with his own "stage shows," obviously could not stand the impact of vigorous and authentic art. And now a fresco by Diego Rivera, admitted to be at least one of the world's leading artists, is indefinitely covered with brown paper because a renting agent says his clients (if any) will refuse to do business under the same roof with Lenin's head.

In both cases the blame has been laid upon that forever intolerant Mrs. Grundy, "the public." The public, said Roxy, would be offended by the nude statues of Lux and Zorach. "A great many people," wrote Nelson Rockefeller to Diego Rivera, would be seriously offended at meeting Lenin in the lobby of No. 1 building at Rockefeller Center. In the first instance, "the public," because of the publicity, became so interested that the nude statues were restored, and so far as we know no cases of moral degeneration have as yet

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resulted. In the present instance, we doubt very much that the head of Lenin alone would upset an average business man or cause a revolution. The average business man would probably not recognize Lenin unless he were introduced (by a renting agent) and revolutions are not generally caused by a picture of Lenin on the wall.

The trouble between Rivera and Rockefeller Center really began long before the head of Lenin appeared. Rivera was requested to do a genuine fresco—in monotones. A real fresco, replied Rivera, is impossible in monotone colors. So he was given permission to use bright color. Apparently through an unfortunate oversight he was not asked to avoid red. And what really upset the renting agent—and would have upset the average business man—were the red flags and the slogans in Rivera's fresco. The objections were put differently of course—shall we say in monotone terms? "The description you gave us . . . led us to believe that your work would be purely imaginative." "The understanding was that slight coloring would be used. The bright colors have therefore provoked considerable discussion." The features of Lenin, it is true, did not appear in the preliminary sketch but at the same time it is apparent that they are completely consistent with the conception as a whole.

The objections of the renting agent, then, are simple-minded but perfectly clear. But it is difficult to see how the Rockefellers could have let themselves in for an embarrassing situation that in the circumstances was absolutely inevitable. The Rockefellers in recent years have shown an appreciation of Rivera's work which has resulted in a most praiseworthy campaign on their part to make it known in America. But they could not have understood his work very thoroughly and still have expected him to do an uncontroversial and "highly imaginative" fresco for a capitalist building in New York City. He is a known Communist, though he has been ousted by the official party. The whole conception of the fresco is revolutionary, and that fact was just as evident in the sketches he submitted as it is in the finished work. In including the portrait of Lenin, he did nothing that the Rockefellers might not have foreseen. Rivera has set down in one of his most famous panels in the Education Building in Mexico City his conception of a capitalist. It is not a pretty one and its model is John D. Rockefeller, Sr. As everyone knows, the capitalist is dining with friends and the food they are eating is money. No one, after seeing that panel, could mistake Diego Rivera's attitude toward capitalists in general, Rockefellers in particular, and that commodity which was the original basis of their fame, namely, money. Rivera has done nothing since then to indicate that he would accommodate his art to the tastes of those who hired him.

The Rockefellers are faced with the logical result of their original acceptance as a great artist of the Communist Rivera. The only dignified way out is for them to accept it and allow the fresco to be finished and exhibited. Otherwise they will be put in the position of preferring a renting agent to Rivera—of preferring business to art—which is unthinkable!

As for the fate of the fresco, we cannot believe that it will be destroyed. We are sure that the Rockefellers realize that a Rivera fresco will outlive the species renting agent. And so we confidently hope that the fresco will be finished and preserved in the interests of art. It is an excellent reason.

O Tempora!

WHO says that the younger generation "has no manners"? If anyone does, we recommend to his attention a certain new work* which undertakes to tell us exactly what these manners are and which succeeds very admirably in the difficult task. The author, it is true, adopts the principles already made familiar by the newer grammarians. She is, that is to say, more concerned with what nice people do than with what, by somebody's law or somebody's logic, they ought to do. But this very fact makes her book of the highest practical value. Read it and you will know just what you can get away with, or, if you happen to be beyond the age when you are interested in getting away with anything, just how far the nice girls you read about can go without losing their adjective.

Our author begins with the straws which indicate the direction of the wind. She warns the old-fashioned girl that a "No, thank you" is enough when refusing a cigarette and that no kudos is to be gained by adding the information, "I don't smoke." She accepts the undeniable fact that "words which our grandmothers knew only because they were assiduous readers of the Bible" are back in the drawing-room; and she disposes of the once moot question of the propriety of public attention to facial make-up with the remark that the "Would you brush your teeth in public?" attitude "died quietly some time ago." Having thus established the atmosphere, she proceeds to discuss the problems of the maiden in a series of chapters which range from the one embodying some judicious advice on the proper reply to a "May I call you up some time?" through a group directed to the more formal problems of the official debutante, and then on to the final section containing counsel of a practical kind on what to do when your escort passes out.

She recognizes the fact that in these times the nice girl needs to be competent even if she is not exactly hard-boiled. "A modern mother is not one to insist upon knowing what intentions a young man entertains toward her daughter. It's probably just as well for her peace of mind." The young girl can therefore be casual about making acquaintances. "It is quite proper to meet a young man at a cocktail party and go on to dinner with him. . . . But of course before accepting an invitation from a complete stranger it is wise to look him over and decide whether or not you are willing to have him around in the future. It is sad but true that the more amusing a young man is the less apt he is to telephone a girl after their first meeting."

Quite naturally, however, it is in the speakeasy that nature's first law comes most conspicuously into its own. Drunks of the taciturn, the loquacious, the argumentative, and the sentimental type have to be borne. On the other hand, "The vomitous requires a firm touch. Have him led to the nearest bathroom and leave him there. Then take your mad money and go home. . . . When your escort passes out in a public place, waste no time in worrying over him. Take a taxi and go home. He will find his way home somehow when he comes to or has been thrown out by the management."

* "No Nice Girl Swears." By Alice-Leone Moats. With a Foreword by Edna Woolman Chase, Editor-in-Chief of *Vogue*. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

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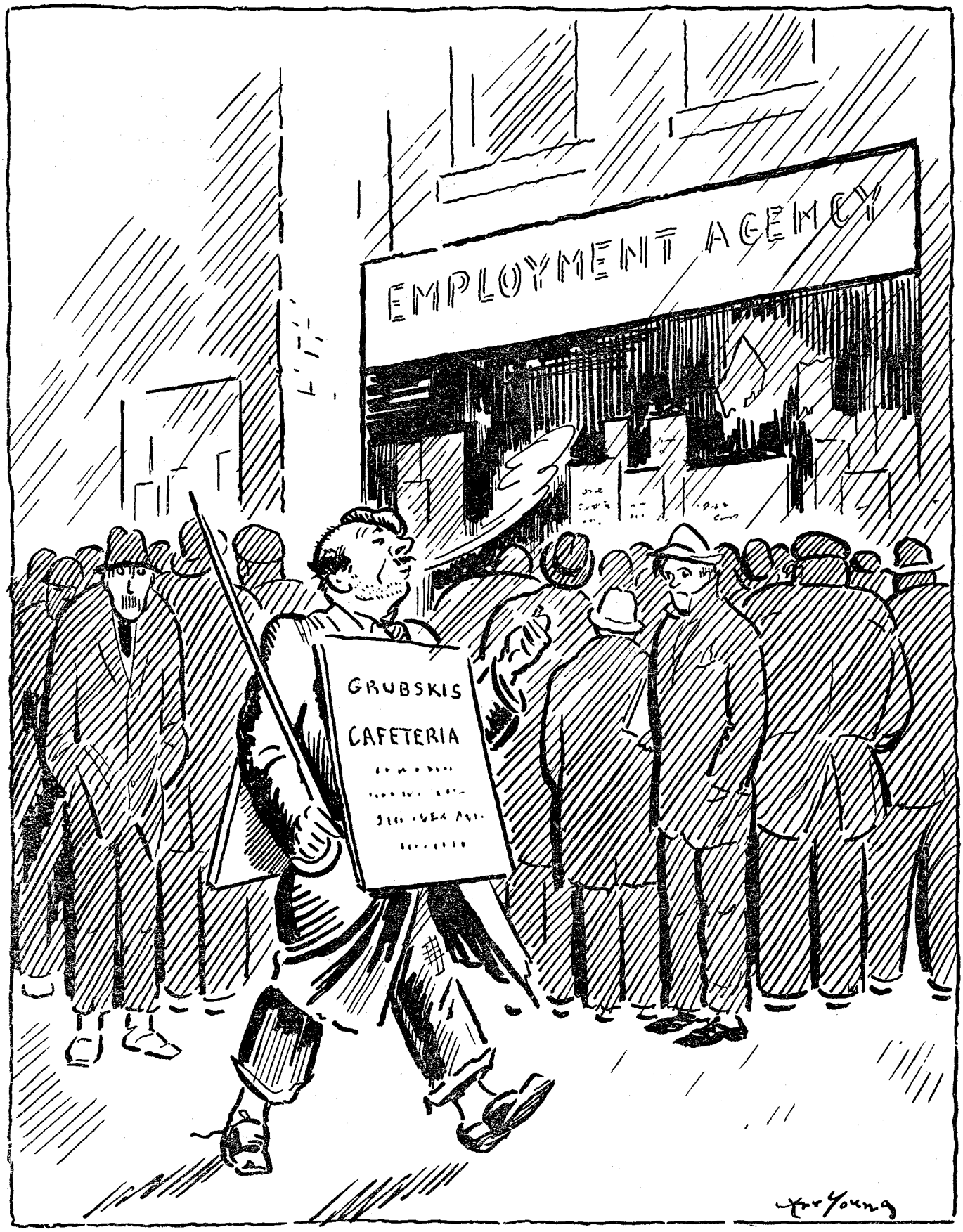

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Depression and the Profit System

The Cause of the Crisis

By LOUIS FISCHER

MANY solutions of the present economic crisis have been offered. We have heard arguments for inflation, reflation, and deflation; for higher tariffs, lower tariffs, and a tax on food; for labor armies, shorter weeks, doles, and public works. But our politicians and economists have been groping blindly for a way out simply because they do not know the cause of the crisis. Correct diagnosis must precede the cure.

Thirteen lines safely concealed from the public eye in the "Handbook of Labor Statistics" published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1931 hit the nail on the head more squarely than anything that has yet appeared on the subject of our economic woes. Miss Mary Van Kleeck read them at the Senate Finance Committee hearings several weeks ago. In the small compass of eighteen lines the one great reason for the depression is set forth vividly and beyond dispute.

> That the average yearly earnings in manufacturing industries were 76.2 per cent greater in 1899 than they had been fifty years before, that the value of the product per wage-earner was 130 per cent greater, that the value added to the raw material as the result of manufacture was 119.8 per cent greater, that the per cent wages bore to the value of product had decreased 23.2 per cent, the per cent that wages were of value of product added had decreased 19.8 per cent, and wholesale prices had decreased 13.1 per cent.
>
> By 1929, or thirty years later, the average yearly earnings had increased over 1849, 431.5 per cent, the value of products per wage-earner had increased 651.7 per cent, the value added by manufacture per wage-earner had increased 649.9 per cent. The per cent that wages were of the value of the product had decreased 29.2 per cent, and the per cent that wages were of value added had decreased by the same amount, while prices had increased 60.6 per cent.

So simple. Yet supposedly clever people have been bothering their heads for the last four years and have failed to hit upon the thought suggested by these illuminating figures. What do they show? The profits of manufacturers have risen sky high. Each workingman has been producing much more. The value of goods put out by American factories has greatly increased. But the workingmen are receiving in wages a much smaller share of that value. I dismiss, for the moment, the unethical procedure whereby labor—and that means the man at the lathe as well as his white-collared colleague at the desk—is paid less for creating more. The chief point is this: the total value of products is greater; the total national wage bill is smaller. Then how can the wage- and salary-earners of the country buy back what they produce? They cannot.

The result, obviously, is a "surplus" of values which the recipients of pay envelopes cannot consume. What happened to this "surplus" which has been accumulating rapidly since 1899? It went first to the profit-takers, that is, to the manufacturers, and to the middle class of distributors who lop off a percentage of the industrialists' profits. And to the extent, often exaggerated, to which wage- and salary-earners participated in the operations of the stock market during a few boom years, they too got in on those profits.

In the second place, absolutely, wages rose, and the country in general enjoyed a fair standard of living. But the relatively very much reduced share of the producers in the consumption of their products resulted in a vast accumulation of unemployed wealth. At the same time we began to lend more and more money, which is another form of manufactured values, to foreign lands. Clearly, then, the profit-takers too could not consume the entire "surplus" of the nation's goods, and some of it had to be exported.

Why was it not invested at home? Large sections of the United States are underdeveloped or altogether undeveloped. Millions of people in the South, West, and even in the East still live in wooden shanties devoid of modern conveniences. Plenty of Americans suffered from low living standards even before the depression. During the first twenty years of my life I lived in many houses in Philadelphia, "the city of homes." (The family moved often because it could not pay the rent.) Not one of those "homes" had electricity or a bath or an inside lavatory. Yet all those houses are still standing and still inhabited. Why did we finance the electrification of homes in Dresden and Munich with post-war loans when there are homes in Philadelphia and Baltimore without electric light? The answer is clear: the wage- and salary-earners of Philadelphia and Baltimore and of thousands of other towns in America could not, because of the decline of their earnings in relation to the value of their products, have bought the electricity and the many similar conveniences and commodities which would have resulted from the investment at home of the sums sent abroad. And the more wage-earners there are, the worse the situation grows, for each of them contributes toward the "surplus." Our colossal lendings to foreigners, therefore, were merely the reverse side of reduced internal purchasing power and should, incidentally, have served as a warning of impending trouble.

Now if the gainfully employed had recouped in stock-market profits what they lost through receiving a shrinking slice of the goods they created, all would have been well. But that was impossible. It would have wiped out the capitalists' profits. Moreover, the concentration of America's wealth and America's national income in fewer and fewer hands has gone on apace for many years, so that despite the wide diffusion of stock ownership, profits were remaining with a decreasing percentage of the population which was too small to consume those profits. Rockefeller, Ford, and Schwab and their brother multimillionaires cannot eat twenty beefsteaks a day, or ride in fifty Packards, or inhabit seventy villas each. There is a natural limit to individual consumption. In other words, the people who wanted to consume all did not have the means, and the people who had the means could not consume all. Hence our reduced domestic purchasing power. Hence our huge foreign loans which may

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never be repaid. Hence idle factories, unemployment, starvation armies, and all the other lovely features of the last four years.

That is the diagnosis. What is the cure? Since the difficulty is the concentration of economic profits in the hands of the people who cannot consume them, the solution, logically, is the division of those profits among people who want to and could consume them. And to prevent a recurrence of the present crisis, a system must be devised for distributing equitably in the future. Divide and redivide profits. That is the way out.

The most direct method of redividing old profits would be a capital levy. Provision for a perfectly equal division of surplus value in years to come would be socialism, which eliminates the profit of the capital-owner. There cannot be much hope that either of these measures will be adopted in the near future. We are in the stage when the new Administration seeks to redistribute old wealth by halfway and "painless" methods. The agricultural paragraphs of the farm bill propose to divert some of the city's wealth to the farmer. If the city did not also include fifteen million unemployed and many million underpaid workers, this would be a levy on the rich. As it is, it will check urban consumption more than it can increase rural purchasing power. Inflation, secondly, aims to transfer old wealth from the creditors to the debtors. Actually and ultimately, it reduces the savings of the middle class and cuts the real wages of the workingmen—America's two largest consumer groups. But we will potter around and try such devices as these, always hoping for the mystic "rebound" from God knows where which will miraculously improve the situation and keep us in "prosperity" until the operations of the profit system again clog the wheels and bring on the next depression.

Crises Are Not "So Simple"

By HENRY HAZLITT

I AGREE with Mr. Fischer entirely in his belief that we cannot prescribe remedies for the crisis unless we know its causes, that "correct diagnosis must precede the cure." But I can see no reason for believing that his own diagnosis is the correct one. Even if there is an element of truth in it (and the facts are so complex and many-sided that there is an element of truth in scores of apparently contradictory diagnoses), it is obvious that it represents a violent over-simplification. Mr. Fischer is using the changing shares of labor and capital in the product of industry, first over the fifty-year period from 1849 to 1899, and then over the thirty-year period from 1899 to 1929, to explain the crisis of 1929. But if this change to labor's disadvantage has been going on for eighty years, why did not the crisis come sooner? Why 1929, and not 1926, or 1919, or 1905, or 1899 itself? Was the depression of 1921 the result of labor's decreasing social share? Then how explain the sharp recovery in 1923? Were all the depressions of the last eighty years the result of labor's decreasing share? Then how explain all the recoveries? Does Mr. Fischer believe that all the crises were brought about by the same cause, but that each recovery is to be explained by a different cause in each case?

Mr. Fischer's diagnosis rests on the theory of crises developed in the 1840's by Karl Rodbertus and later adopted by Karl Marx. It rests on the thesis that labor receives a constantly decreasing share of the social product; that as the great mass of wage-earners have a diminished purchasing power, consumption fails to keep pace with production; so that a contraction of production follows, with unemployment and a further decrease in purchasing power, leading to an intensification of the crisis. The defect of this theory is that it cannot answer the sort of questions I have just asked. It makes it difficult to explain why we are not always in a crisis, and impossible to explain how we ever surmount one.

Let us turn from theory to facts. In his factual statements Mr. Fischer is not always careful. He speaks of labor being "paid less for creating more"; he remarks that "the total value of products is greater, the total national wage bill smaller." Such statements are flatly contradicted by the quotation he cites, which shows that the average yearly earnings of the worker increased more than 400 per cent in the eighty years from 1849 to 1929. The same 1931 "Handbook of Labor Statistics" from which Mr. Fischer's statistics are ultimately taken also shows (p. 846) that hourly wage rates increased in the thirty-year period from 1899 to 1929 by 233 per cent. Even when we allow for the increased cost of living and the reduction of working hours in the meantime, the laborer's command over goods, as shown by Paul Douglas's figures, increased by 35 per cent in this period. So it is not true that the total national wage bill was growing smaller, or that labor was being "paid less for creating more." It was being paid *more* for creating more. Perhaps not *enough* more; but that is a different contention, to which I shall return later.

I may point out, however, that the figures Mr. Fischer quotes are themselves misleading. This is not the fault of Mr. Fischer, who merely repeats Miss Van Kleeck's quotation, nor is it the fault of Miss Van Kleeck, who merely quotes the passage from the "Handbook." It is the fault of the author of the article, Ethelbert Stewart, the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics. He has committed a simple fallacy of selection. He has compared the figures for the particular year 1849 with the figures for the particular year 1929, and presented the result as if it accurately reflected a general eighty-year *tendency*. But if he had taken, for example, 1869 and compared it with 1921, and presented his results in the same way, he would have been obliged to say:

> By 1921, or fifty-two years later, the average yearly earnings of workers in manufacturing industries had increased 291 per cent, the value of products per wage-earner had increased 281 per cent, the value added by manufacture per wage-earner had increased 289 per cent. The per cent that wages were of the value of the product had *increased* 2.7 per cent, and the per cent that wages were of value added by manufacture had *increased* 0.7 per cent.

If Mr. Fischer wishes to make a more scientific approach to the study of the 1929-33 crisis I should advise him not merely to take wholesale a period of eighty years that included at least a dozen depressions and their subsequent recoveries, but to devote himself to a more intensive study of the period between the last crisis and the present one—the period, say, from 1922 to 1929. One of his main textbooks will be "Economic Tendencies in the United States," by Frederick C. Mills, a thorough and meticulous study recently

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published by the National Bureau of Economic Research. He will find there some very interesting figures that seem to support his case. For example (p. 550):

> The aggregate command over goods exercised by manufacturing labor increased at a rate of 3.1 per cent a year between 1922 and 1929; that of "ownership and management" increased by 7.3 per cent a year. (For both groups, purchasing power is measured in terms of wholesale prices.) The difference here is attributable, primarily, to differing rates of change in the real rewards of the two groups for their respective contributions to each unit of manufactured goods produced. The reward of labor for its contribution to each unit (i. e., labor cost per unit of goods produced, in dollars of constant purchasing power) was declining, while the rewards of "ownership and management" (i. e., overhead costs plus profits, in dollars of constant purchasing power) were increasing between 1922 and 1929.

Have we here the key to the present depression? Mr. Fischer would undoubtedly think so; but a study of other facts may lead us to alter that conclusion. For example, one of Mr. Mills's other findings is that while manufacturing "ownership and management" was able to buy 110 per cent more goods in 1929 than in 1914, and while manufacturing labor was able to buy 75 per cent more, the farmers as a whole were able to buy only 10 per cent more, notwithstanding that their own physical output had increased during that period by 25 per cent. In so far, then, as the 1929 collapse can be attributed to a lowered purchasing power on the part of any sizable economic group (and what we have here to deal with, it must not be forgotten, is a *relative* and not an absolute reduction of purchasing power), what happened to the purchasing power of the farmers is much more significant than what happened to that of manufacturing labor.

But is the crisis primarily to be explained in terms of these shifts in the purchasing power of different groups? In answering this question we may once more draw upon some of Mr. Mills's figures. He finds that the distributive tendencies in the period from 1899 to 1914 were the *reverse* of those from 1914 to 1929. In the earlier period the relative share of labor in the product *increased* while the relative share of "ownership and management" *decreased*. If Mr. Fischer's theory were correct, 1914 should have been an unusually prosperous year, for labor's relative purchasing power was higher. In point of fact, 1914 was a year of severe depression. Mr. Fischer may reply that this was because of the outbreak of the war. This explanation would not be entirely true, for the business recession began in the middle of 1913; but it would be mainly true. Its introduction, however, brings us to some of the complexities of a problem which Mr. Fischer regards as "so simple."

After reviewing a dozen or more of them, Wesley C. Mitchell, in his classic study of business cycles, remarks:

> Taken one at a time, most of the theories of business cycles reviewed in Chapter I seem plausible, not to say convincing. Certainly each theory, this time without exception, illuminates some angle of the problem. Taken all together, the theories render a different service—one which is welcome only to the man who has the courage and time to enter upon a thorough investigation. They show that business cycles are congeries of diverse fluctuations in numerous processes—physical, psychological, and economic. . . .

This recognition of the complexity of the problem need not be a confession of bafflement. It warns us against facile or even single explanations, but it need not deter us from attempting to estimate the relative roles that various forces played. My own belief is that the 1929 crisis is mainly the result of the inevitable collapse of the artificial war and post-war level of commodity prices. The sudden and enormous war demand sent the world gold level of prices up to two and a half times the pre-war level; it was inevitable that, once this war demand was withdrawn, this artificial price level would collapse. The break came in two main movements: the first in 1920-21, the second in 1930-32. But the force of this collapse was aggravated enormously by the whole series of post-war policies: by the vicious Treaty of Versailles, by the disorganization caused by reparations and war debts, by the preposterous tariff barriers thrown up everywhere, particularly by ourselves, by the wide adoption of the gold-exchange standard, by the artificial cheap-money policy pursued both in England and America, leading here to a colossal real-estate and stock-market speculation under the benign encouragement of Messrs. Coolidge and Mellon, and, largely as a consequence of our other policies, by our sometimes reckless lending to foreign countries. When the crisis came we intensified it not merely by suddenly refusing to grant new loans, but by demanding immediate payment of all our callable and maturing old loans.

Our post-war foreign loans, in other words, were mainly the result of our high-pressure export campaign combined with a refusal to buy adequate imports in return. In effect, we insisted on selling goods in exchange for dubious foreign I. O. U.'s. It was this policy, and not, as Mr. Fischer supposes, a shortage of home purchasing power, that led to those foreign loans. As a matter of fact, the new foreign security issues floated in this market in the eight years from 1922 to 1929 averaged only $976,000,000 a year, and Mr. Mills estimates that the *net* outward movement of American capital in that period was only $451,000,000 a year. As our total annual national income during that period was variously estimated at from $80,000,000,000 to $85,000,000,000, our "shortage of purchasing power at home," by this test, would have been only a fraction of 1 per cent, still permitting Americans to buy, on net balance, more than 99 per cent of their own output. Some part of our net export of capital, it is true, could be interpreted as reflecting a shortage of purchasing power on the part of American workers, but the mere fact of an export of capital is far from a prima facie evidence of such a condition. Mr. Fischer's interpretation, logically carried out, would lead us to the Alice-in-Wonderland conclusion, not only that all creditor countries lend because of a shortage of home purchasing power, but that all debtor countries borrow because of a surplus of home purchasing power!

Mr. Fischer's diagnosis of the present crisis, in sum, is incorrect, and therefore his proposed remedies, whatever their merits, are not relevant to the immediate situation. The causes of the crisis, as we have seen, are complex, and it cannot be cured by any single panacea. My own belief is that the three most *immediate* steps necessary are all international: a reduction of tariff and trade barriers; an amicable adjustment of the war debts; and the prompt return, particularly on the part of Great Britain and ourselves, to the gold standard at a devaluated level calculated to raise commodity prices, say, to a point about 10 per cent under the 1926 level. A capital levy, as proposed by Mr. Fischer, seems to me not

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only irrelevant to the problem of prompt recovery but a measure that would violently aggravate the catastrophe. Wealth does not exist in the form of cash, except to a very minute extent, but in the form of real estate, chattels, securities, or going businesses. A substantial capital levy would cause these to be thrown on the market in unparalleled volume, and as almost no one would be in position to buy, a collapse of values would ensue compared to which the collapse we have just gone through would seem trivial. I suspect that what makes the capital levy proposal popular in some quarters is a mere verbal coincidence: the economy of private profit under which we operate is popularly known as the capitalist system, and a "capital levy" seems a way of hitting the capitalists. But most taxation from time immemorial has been in the form of comparatively mild capital levies. The largest single source of tax income in the United States today is still the tax on real estate, because real estate is the most visible and least concealable or transportable form of capital wealth. General property taxes have as a rule proved so unsuccessful and evadable that they have been largely abandoned. A capital levy today would fall heavily on the farmers, who are precisely, as we have seen, the class that suffered the relatively largest losses in the period from 1922 to 1929.

In rejecting Mr. Fischer's theory regarding the cause of the present crisis, I reject it, of course, merely when it is offered as the single or even as the primary explanation. In the general situation that led up to the collapse of 1929, the relative shift of income among various groups in the preceding period undoubtedly played some part—though, as we have seen, it was the farmers' rather than the industrial workers' relative purchasing power that was shrinking most. The figures cited by Mr. Fischer of the changing relationship of industrial wage payments to the total value of industrial products for the last eighty years are unquestionably significant, though I should differ from him in their interpretation.

The figures themselves, as I have shown, are distinctly misleading when taken in isolation; but even if it were definitely established by more careful statistical methods that manufacturing labor has been getting in the last eighty years a constantly smaller proportionate share of the total value of manufactured goods, one might still have more than one interpretation of this result. Mr. Fischer would presumably interpret labor's smaller relative share as prima facie evidence of the increasing "exploitation" of labor. But the figures can also be interpreted from the standpoint of the productivity theory of wages, a theory which, as a *long-run* theory, I believe to be substantially valid. Industry, it has become trite enough to observe, has been increasingly mechanized in the last eighty years; but this is only another way of saying that the volume of capital employed in industry has been increasing at a much faster rate than that of labor. We should expect as a natural consequence of this that the share of capital in the product would increase as compared with that of labor. What is desirable is not an increase in "wages" as such, in the technical economic definition of that term, but an increasing ownership on the part of the workers, either directly or through the state, of the machinery they operate. The profit system has so far shown a woefully inadequate ability to secure this end. Socialism or communism could secure it, but could they do so without a loss of managing efficiency that would leave labor on net balance in a poorer position than under a reformed capitalism? I do not find the answer to that question as simple, on one side or the other, as most persons seem to find it; and it is, of course, not the sole question we must answer. Meanwhile my adherence to the profit system is tentative, *faute de mieux*. I should feel considerably more sympathetic to a complete socialism or communism than I am, or even to that ambiguous thing called Planning, if I could feel more confident than I do that the planning would fall into competent and expert hands and not into the hands of economic illiterates. Let us hope that a political technique will be devised that will more nearly insure that the economically trained and the socially educated, rather than the orators, the mob masters, or the merely aggressive, will hold the positions of political power.

Meanwhile, apart from our conclusions, something ought to be said about the spirit and methods by which we arrive at those conclusions. Nothing can be gained, in the long run, by facile answers and false simplifications. "Only by studying propositions about morals with the same detachment as propositions about electrons, caring more for the rules of the scientific game than for any particular result," writes Morris R. Cohen in "Reason and Nature," can the moral philosopher "hope to fulfil his function as a builder of sound ethical theory or science." Substitute economics for ethics in this statement, and we define an attitude that is not, I fear, very fashionable at the moment, but it is the only one in the results of which we can have any permanent confidence.

Mr. Fischer Rejoins

TO Mr. Hazlitt's question why labor's disadvantageous share in the products of its work did not bring on the crisis before 1929, the answer is: it did. We had many crises and depressions between 1899 and 1929. It is naive, moreover, to suppose that the disproportionate participation of labor and profit-takers in manufactured values must at any given moment produce an immediate crisis. In that event we should be having crises all the time. The effect of that disproportion is cumulative, and undermines the system, like a disease, at irregular intervals. Each time, either through the development of a new industry or through the expansion of commercial interests abroad or through any number of circumstances which economists can enumerate, we get out of the crisis until the next one comes along. That is what we are trying to do now, except that the new industry and the new foreign countries and the new avenues for investment at home have not yet been discovered.

Mr. Hazlitt says that my statements about labor being paid less for creating more "are flatly contradicted by the quotation" I cite, which shows that wages had been steadily rising. But I wrote that "absolutely, wages rose." I also said, however, that the workers had been receiving "a much smaller *share* of that value," and I also spoke of "the decline of their earnings *in relation to* the value of their products." This is the core of the problem, and Mr. Hazlitt misses my chief point. Absolutely, wages rose, relatively they fell, and labor, therefore, could not buy back its proportionate percentage of what it produced. Hence the "surplus." Hence the crisis. Indeed, it makes little difference, from the point

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of view of establishing the principle, whether even the share increased. It never rose high enough to wipe out surplus value.

This "surplus," I wrote, "resulted in a vast accumulation of unemployed wealth. . . . Some of it had to be exported." *Some,* not all. Much of the surplus remains in frozen forms in this country. We all know that banks and companies and individuals have assets today which they cannot put to use. That is part of the surplus. So there is no point in attempting to prove that the foreign securities floated here were limited in volume. Since Mr. Hazlitt, however, did attempt such a calculation, he should have added to the foreign securities issued here American purchases of foreign bonds and stocks not issued here and foreign real estate bought by Americans. He should also have added our favorable trade balances between 1922 and 1929, which alone amounted to $4,692,000,000. It would be interesting to know how much of this the nations have been able to repay.

In this connection Mr. Hazlitt says: "Our post-war foreign loans . . . were mainly the result of our high-pressure export campaign. . . . We insisted on selling goods in exchange for dubious I. O. U.'s." But wasn't that pretty silly? Why the high pressure to sell our goods for dubious I. O. U.'s? Why didn't our exporters prefer sales at home to dubious foreign I. O. U.'s? The answer is the one I gave: domestic purchasing power could not consume all we produced. (Needless to say, relatively reduced purchasing power has in recent years been a phenomenon of the farmer's life as well as of the workingman's life.) If the values exported in the form of goods and investments had been used here, our industrial plant would have expanded even more than it did. Overproduction and the crisis would have come sooner.

Mr. Hazlitt tries to find an Alice-in-Wonderland conclusion in my argument about foreign investments. Nothing of the sort. Creditor countries lend abroad because of a relative shortage of purchasing power at home. They export because even dubious I. O. U.'s are sometimes better than burning excess commodities, throwing them into the sea, or letting them rot in warehouses. They export in the hope of developing foreign purchasing power for their goods. Now and then they are miserably disappointed. That is what happened in this crisis. The foreign debtors could not pay. So that, begging Mr. Hazlitt's pardon, there is a shortage of purchasing power in America and also in many foreign countries. Thus the pres[illegible]sis is profoundly international.

Of course the Treaty of Versailles and war debts and tariff barriers aggravate this crisis. But are not these very circumstances the result of the war, and was not the war, in large measure, brought on by the struggle for markets and for colonies? And was not that struggle a result of relatively reduced purchasing power at home, which forced nations to seek foreign fields to conquer?

I will not enter into every one of Mr. Hazlitt's complicated objections to my brief presentation of the most fundamental, but not the only, cause of the depression. That may be done on some other occasion. At this moment I can merely say that my thesis stands: those who produce on the land and in the factory and office cannot, because of the capital-investors' profits, be paid enough to enable them to buy and consume the values which the profit-takers do not consume.

LOUIS FISCHER

Mr. Hazlitt Concludes

MR. FISCHER accuses me of missing his chief point, but I am afraid he misses mine. My objection to Mr. Fischer's theory was that "it makes it difficult to explain why we are not always in a crisis, and impossible to explain how we ever surmount one." If labor was not getting enough "to buy back its product" in 1929, was it getting enough to do so, in Mr. Fischer's opinion, in 1926, 1919, 1905, or any other non-crisis year? And if it was not, how does Mr. Fischer explain how the product was actually sold in those years? His reply appears to be that the surplus was exported. But we have already seen that even if this theory of the meaning of an export surplus were valid, the amount involved in the 1922-29 period was only a fraction of 1 per cent of the total national production.

Mr. Fischer's attempted answer to the figures I presented of our net export of capital during the 1922-29 period involves, as every student of the subject will recognize, the obvious fallacy of counting the same thing twice. Our foreign loans and investments merely represent the surplus of our exports over our imports (using both terms in their broadest sense, to include gold shipments, tourist travel, services, etc.). The figure I cited of the average net annual export of capital, $451,000,000 a year (and it is of course Mr. Mills's figure and not my own), already includes and allows for the excess of our exports over our imports and the other items mentioned by Mr. Fischer.

Mr. Fischer says that it was a silly policy for us to sell goods abroad for dubious foreign I. O. U.'s, and I of course agree with him. But the ultimate buyers of those promises did not know at the time that they were bad. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the losses of Americans in their foreign investments have received a misleading emphasis in the last few years as compared with their losses in home investments. Whatever comparisons I have seen indicate that the home losses were not only absolutely but proportionately the more serious.

Finally, it must be said that a theory which requires us to believe that every crisis is brought about principally by the same cause, but that every recovery is brought about by a different cause, and that this different cause has always made a miraculous appearance hitherto just after a depression has run about two or three years, is on its face a suspicious theory. I am not arguing that labor is not underpaid. But it is important not to confuse ethical and economic questions, and it seems to me that what under capitalism is called prosperity can continue for a long time even when unjust wages are paid, provided only that capitalists continue to turn out the same percentage of goods as hitherto for capitalists and not for laborers. It is *shifts* in the relative purchasing power of different groups or *shifts* in the production of various kinds of industrial goods that may bring crises, not more or less constant income disparities. But even these shifts are not the sole cause of crises. I incline to believe that they played a real but relatively secondary role in bringing on the present one.

HENRY HAZLITT

(The discussion in the foregoing articles of the causes of the present economic debacle and possible ways out will be commented upon editorially in a forthcoming issue.)

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Where Do We Go from Here?

By PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Washington, May 13

YOU are now about to witness, ladies and gentlemen, the most stirring, thrilling, hair-raising, and breath-taking performance of this entire stupendous, magnificent, colossal, and unparalleled spectacle—a performance, ladies and gentlemen, which is nothing less than an attempt by the Administration to end unemployment, increase wages, regulate hours of labor, and control industrial production! And all at one stroke! If it succeeds it will be one of the greatest achievements in human history. If it fails—but let's not think about that. Before these flashing phrases are being devoured by a million eager eyes, there will, in all probability, have been disclosed the measure through which it is hoped to work the miracle. I must say that the work of drafting it could not have been intrusted to more capable hands. It was assigned to a subcommittee consisting of New York's Senator Wagner; Donald R. Richberg, railway labor attorney and one of the foremost economic and social thinkers of our time; and General Hugh S. Johnson, a soldier, lawyer, and ex-manufacturer with a noble contempt for the demoted captains of industry. When they have agreed upon a tentative draft, it will be submitted to a full committee of the President's advisers, and the President himself will determine the final form in which it will be submitted to Congress. At first glance it appears to be a rather grandiose undertaking, but the objectives are worthy in the highest sense, and the Administration deserves the greatest credit for seeking them. It could only be criticized for not seeking some of them earlier. The purposes, speaking broadly, are to create jobs and purchasing power by furnishing $3,300,000,000 for public works, provide for trade agreements to prevent unfair competition, which would involve the maintenance of fair wages and working hours, and control and stabilize production. Thus, it would displace the Black thirty-hour-week bill, which has passed the Senate and is before the House; and also supplant the La Follette-Cutting-Costigan public-works bill introduced in the Senate this week. Indeed, it would take the place of half a dozen proposals that have been evolved by the various subdivisions of the celebrated "brain trust." Hostile cynics have even insinuated that it would take the place of the federal Constitution, but to this I indignantly dissent. As readers of this page are well aware, I believe only in constructive criticism.

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ONE of the most amazing—and significant—phases of the present situation is the pathetic eagerness of a majority of employers to be regulated. Their position, briefly, is that the government must help them to save themselves. They find themselves confronted with a small but deadly group of labor-sweaters whose ruthless price-cutting is simply ripping the bottom out of industry. These loathsome creatures are willing to see everything go to smash if they can get theirs before the collapse occurs. Precisely such a condition was foreseen and foretold by some of us in those dear departed days when the slogan of employers was "Less government in business, and more business in government"—the spirit which dominated the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover Administrations, and led to the present situation. There is nothing to be gained, I suppose, by saying "I told you so," but good old Bob La Follette must have chuckled as he looked down from the ramparts of heaven and saw the president of the United States Chamber of Commerce earnestly assuring the spokesman for the hated railway brotherhoods that big business was anxious to "go along" on the proposals to inaugurate drastic regulation of industry. This is said in no derisive vein. On the contrary, Mr. Harriman's course is a credit to his intelligence, and my praise of him will not be diminished by the circumstance that he was forced into it by developments beyond his control. At the same time, prudence dictates that careful scrutiny be given to the methods proposed for regulating production and relaxing the anti-trust laws, and to the persons chosen to administer them. It would be very unfortunate indeed, if we started out to put the government in control of business, and woke up to find business in complete control of itself and the government. Moreover, it would seem that if any effective plan of supervision and control is to be established, it should be permanent rather than temporary. Otherwise, the return of prosperity would be likely to witness a lamentable amount of backsliding among the employers now weeping so copiously at the mourners' bench.

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JUST as the public works–industrial control proposal is the most promising step yet taken by the Administration, so its plan for temporary reorganization of the railroads is unquestionably the worst. I doubt whether General Atterbury could have invented a sorrier one, and I am personally acquainted with a dozen switchmen and brakemen who could have done better. The most glaring defects in the bill are its omissions. It would abolish the jobs of from 80,000 to 300,000 rail workers without making any provision for their future. It would establish a federal "coordinator," but would place the real power in the hands of three regional committees composed of railway executives, so that instead of having a federal czar over the railroads, we should actually have a baby czar under a regency of railroad managers. It is obvious not only that the regional committees should be subordinated to the authority of the coordinator, but that he should be given general supervision over other forms of interstate transportation. In short, a coordinator should be in a position to coordinate. Perhaps the most fantastic section of the bill is that under which approximately fifteen hundred State regulatory laws would be nullified. If such a provision ever passed the stage of enactment, it certainly would face a stormy journey through the courts. The indications are, however, that the whole measure will find rough sledding in Congress. On this bill Mr. Roosevelt is facing his first real fight. He asked for it—somebody sold him a lemon. It is regrettable that a stiffer fight was not also made against the so-called home-owners' mortgage bill.

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Purporting to be a measure to relieve embarrassed owners of mortgaged homes, it is really a proposal to relieve the embarrassed owners of the mortgages. It will permit them to unload their questionable investments on the federal government at the expense of the taxpayers, and get in exchange 4 per cent interest-bearing bonds that are exempt from taxes. Never was Fiorello La Guardia more keenly missed in the House than when this inexcusable measure came up.

* * * * *

SECRETARY ICKES was not long in exhibiting his determination to clean up the Interior Department—and with the possible exception of Justice, no department is in greater need of a cleaning. A few days ago the Secretary learned that Charles C. Moore, Commissioner of the General Land Office, had suppressed the report and reversed the findings of his expert and legal staff in order to rule that the famous Section Thirty-six, located in the middle of the Elk Hills naval oil reserve in California, rightly belonged to the Standard Oil Company of California rather than to the United States. Ickes thereupon requested and received Commissioner Moore's resignation, and then issued an order that no former officer of the department would be permitted to practice before it until after a lapse of two years. The tract involved has been described as the richest oil field in the world. Since it is located in the heart of the naval reserve, it can hardly be doubted that its operation is draining the reserve. The federal government originally donated the land to the State of California on condition that it contained no minerals. Subsequently the State assigned it to a private company. The assignment was confirmed by that illustrious patriot, Albert B. Fall, when he was Secretary of the Interior. However, inquiry by the legal and mineralogical staff of the department disclosed that the original government survey of the land had classified it as mineral-bearing. Ten days before the Roosevelt Administration was inaugurated, Commissioner Moore, omitting from his record of the case a seventy-six-page report prepared by his expert subordinates, officially held that the original government surveyor had simply made a bright guess when he said the tract contained oil, and that, therefore, it should remain in the hands of its present possessors. This sort of thing has been common in the department since 1921, but I predict there will be no more of it as long as Ickes remains. In conclusion, for the benefit of those who relish a rollicking laugh, I recommend the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Butler, of the United States Supreme Court, in the case involving the valuation of the gas properties of the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Corporation, for rate-making purposes. Throughout the period of high prices for labor and commodities the eminent jurist distinguished himself by his ardent advocacy of the "reproduction new" theory of valuation for public utilities. In private practice he had often been retained by utility corporations to advance that doctrine before the courts, and hence the propriety of his participation in decisions involving the theory was sometimes questioned. Nevertheless, his view was accepted by a majority of his brethren on the bench, notably in the cases of the Indianapolis Water Company, the O'Fallon Railway Company, and the Baltimore Street Railways. But alas for His Honor and the utilities he had served so faithfully, labor and commodity prices have declined, and "reproduction new" is a two-edged sword. In the Los Angeles case a majority of the court rejected the company's claim for a rate base of $95,000,000, and fixed a "fair value" of $65,074,000. The squawks emitted by Mr. Justice Butler were so heart-rending, and his comments on the majority opinion were so acidulous, that I cannot steel myself to repeat them here. But by all means read his dissent. It is not often that a member of the Supreme Court delights us with a gem of genuine comedy.

Workers of China, Unite!

By SOONG CHING-LING (MRS. SUN YAT-SEN)

BEFORE reviewing conditions in China, I should like to make a few remarks about the international situation today. The world crisis of capitalism becomes ever severer. Workers and peasants starve, the middle class is ruined, banks and business concerns crash, and even the United States of America has given up the gold standard. Only in the Soviet Union an entirely different development is taking place. Unemployment has been abolished, industry and agriculture are being organized on a Socialist basis, exploitation has been done away with, the cultural and economic level of the masses is being raised. The Five-Year Plan is a huge success. Vainly some capitalist countries are trying to adopt certain features of the Five-Year Plan. But they cannot succeed, because the laws of capitalist production and the rule of the bourgeoisie prevent it. Only the working class in alliance with the peasantry can build a Socialist society.

The more precarious the existence of capitalism becomes, the more vicious becomes the ruling class against the workers and peasants. Fascism is spreading in Europe as the last desperate attempt of the bourgeoisie to maintain the existence of a bankrupt system of brutal terror. The greater the antagonism between the imperialist Powers becomes, the greater becomes their enmity against the Soviet Union, the greater the preparation for new imperialist world wars, for a new war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

With this international background in view, what are the conditions in China? Economically, the workers are unemployed, or starving with miserable wages. They work long hours and have no protection. Peasants suffer, starve, and are robbed by high rents, usurious interest rates, and taxes. They have not sufficient land and they groan under feudal exploitation by the landlords and gentry. They suffer by the wars of the generals and the marauding armies of the war lords. Politically, there is no right of free speech and free press, no right of assembly and organization. Radicals and revolutionaries are imprisoned, tortured, and killed. Culturally, there is no money for the education of the people, because 90 per cent of the revenues is squandered by the various governments for the maintenance of their armies.

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All these conditions are aggravated by the war of Japanese imperialism against China. How is it possible that Japan can wage a war against China? There are two reasons: first, Japanese imperialism is assisted by imperialist England and France, which also aim at further dismemberment of China. The League of Nations has given Japan a free hand, making only such reservations as aim to guard the imperialist robber interests of the other Powers and to deceive their own and the Chinese people. The second reason lies in China itself. The Chinese people want resistance against Japanese and every other imperialism. The Kuomintang government stifles this resistance by suppression of the boycott, sabotage of the Volunteers, and abolition of the democratic rights of the people. The main forces of the country are employed to fight not the Japanese but the Chinese people, the workers and peasants of China. The leadership of the armies of China is in the hands of reactionary, treacherous generals.

Who "defended" Jehol? The opium general, Tang Yu-lin, chairman of Jehol Province. He opened the gates of China to the Japanese invaders. He left the Volunteers in the ditch without arms and supplies; he stabbed his own soldiers in the back. Who is responsible for this treason? First, General Chang Hsueh-liang, chief war lord of the north and representative of the Nanking Government in Peking, who is the superior of the opium general and who, by his theory of non-resistance, gave the basis for the treason, which was further helped by insufficient preparations. Secondly, the Nanking Government. Why? This government employs its main forces against the Chinese people; it puts treacherous generals in command and prevents their removal; it prevents the arming of the people and the organization of volunteer military detachments for the waging of a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism.

Today even members of the Nanking Government raise the cry: "Death to Tang Yu-lin!" We agree, but we doubt that Nanking will shoot him. He should have been shot long ago. But did not T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance, declare a few weeks ago that the suggestion that Tang Yu-lin is on the Japanese side of the fence is an insult to the nation? As for Chang Hsueh-liang, he has been very brave in arresting students and workers! He has been very brave indeed in disarming the defeated soldiers of Jehol, to preserve "peace and order"! But did he not quit Manchuria with his army a year and a half ago, leaving the fighting to the Volunteers? Fighting is against his will and real intention. He will only open the gates of Peking and Tientsin to the Japanese. So Chang Hsueh-liang must be made responsible for the treachery of Tang Yu-lin, and only when the Chinese people overcome the treason of their leaders will China live.

And now for the Nanking Government—the so-called "central authority." The time has come when its phrases about "prolonged resistance" can no longer hide the facts of betrayal, cowardice, and non-resistance. No preparations for real resistance were made by General Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang leaders of Nanking. Only the utterly foolish hope was expressed that Japan might stop at the Great Wall, and that Japan's war of aggression would break down of itself owing to internal revolution and financial bankruptcy. But Japan will not stop. Jehol is the key for the invasion of Mongolia as well as of the north of China. Japan will not only take the territory north of the Yellow River, but will repeat its bombardment of Shanghai as well as other Yangtze ports, in order to win greater power in the Yangtze Valley and dictate terms to the Chinese people. In its future war against the Soviet Union Japan will even attempt to use the Chinese masses as cannon-fodder, as it is already today using the Chinese soldiers of Manchuria against their brothers and sisters in Jehol and Hopei. When a nation can be driven to fight the robber wars of another imperialist Power, it has reached the lowest depths of its humiliation; it ceases to exist.

What is our task—the task of the Chinese people? It is clear. We must take the road of national and social liberation. The Nanking Government cannot unite China, cannot lead the national revolutionary war of the armed people against imperialism, cannot give food and work to the starving workers, cannot give land to the peasants. Why not? Because it is seeking always to compromise with imperialism. Because it fears the armed people more than the imperialist invaders.

I call upon all men and women, the youth of China, and especially the workers, peasants, students, and Volunteers, to unite and organize this struggle for the liberation, unity, and integrity of China—a struggle inseparably bound up with the efforts for the emancipation of the toiling masses from exploitation, with the fight for the rights of free speech, free press, assembly, and organization, and for the liberation of political prisoners. Only through such effort will be developed the unconquerable national and social forces which will break the power of imperialism and its treacherous allies. Let us remember that the Russian Revolution demonstrated the superiority of a revolutionary people and its revolutionary armies to the forces of the whole capitalist world. The Chinese people with its already great revolutionary tradition will conquer in the same way. Not imperialist domination and the dismemberment of China, but a free, united, revolutionary China of the workers and peasants!

We must fight in every city and village for these demands: (1) that at least 80 per cent of the armed forces of the country, with adequate equipment and all aeroplanes, be sent against Japanese imperialism to regain Manchuria and Jehol and to defend China; (2) that the people be armed and that voluntary military detachments be formed; (3) that democratic rights—free speech, free press, right of assembly and organization—be granted at once, and that the imprisonment, torture, and killing of revolutionaries cease immediately; (4) that the advance against the Soviet territories in China be stopped. Let it be emphasized that not only has the Soviet Government of China declared war on Japanese imperialism, but in January of this year it offered its cooperation with any army or military detachment in the fight against Japanese imperialism, upon the condition that the advance against Soviet territory cease, that democratic rights be given to the people, and that the people be armed.

If we want to carry through these demands we must prepare to fight. We must organize in every factory, every school and university, every city and village. Our demands must be discussed in every house, shop, and factory. Our demands must flood the streets. Only by arousing the masses to the seriousness of the situation and to the task of the future will we bring action. This action will be the broad and anti-imperialist struggle culminating in the national revolutionary war of the armed people against Japanese and other imperialism. It is the duty of all national revolutionary elements to prepare for this struggle.

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The Legion's Betrayal

By ERNEST ANGELL

THE American Legion, dedicated to patriotism and unselfish service, has become in these last years of national crisis the most unpatriotic and selfish of American organizations. Unless it executes an about-face, it must soon be recognized as a definite menace to democratic institutions and free government. For a dozen years the American people left to the Legion the shaping and control of legislation for the disabled war veterans, their widows and orphans. The Legion built up a dominance over Congress and the State legislatures in this field, became drunk on power and grew insolent with success. The extent of the Treasury-raiding by the veterans under Legion leadership became known in 1932; the nation awoke to the loss of billions flowing into the itching palms, and in the dark days of March, 1933, threw off the Legion's grip on the federal Treasury and Congress. It would be difficult to give too high praise to the courage and achievement of President Roosevelt and the new Director of the Budget, Lewis W. Douglas.

Long before the President's economy bill was presented to Congress, the Legion had lost the interest and support of all its former leaders of distinction. When the Portland convention of 1932 voted overwhelmingly to demand immediate full payment of the bonus certificates maturing in 1945, the Legion lost its last claim to be a patriotic body and belied the purposes stated in its constitution of 1919—"to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, State, and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses." With this vote the American Legion dedicated itself to plunder.

Some scattered members and units of the Legion have raised their voices in opposition to the greed of the majority. Dr. George J. Lawrence, commander of the New York department, came out in a ringing plea for support of the President's economy bill. The National Commander, Louis J. Johnson, after waiting too long and thus losing the opportunity to redeem the Legion's reputation at least partially, expressed a cautious support of the President. These, however, are isolated instances. The powerful National Legislative Committee worked tooth and nail to defeat the bill, and Legion leaders still in good odor in their own circles are reforming their lines for another attack on the Treasury at the first moment they dare. No one should believe for an instant that the Legion has reformed or become really patriotic, or that it is determined to put the interest of the country above that of the veterans. As soon as the President's dominance over Congress wanes, as it must, the veterans will renew the siege of the Treasury.

Dissenters in the ranks are in the meantime to be ejected so that the Legion may present a united front in the next battle. Certain units which have dared publicly to oppose the shameless plundering, to call attention to the legal dishonesty of "disability" claims and awards, have been suspended or ejected from membership or threatened with such discipline. The Legion is touchy and intolerant; it brooks no criticism from within; the body politic must be purified. The pages of the *American Legion Monthly*, the official publication, are never opened to the expression of minority opinion; its faithful readers must not have their minds contaminated. From this to the burning of books is but a little step. The Legion is thoroughly fascist in spirit, and therein lies the menace of its power and numbers.

Typical instances of this militant intolerance have lately occurred. The Willard Straight Post of New York City, which has been in hot water with the State and national bodies on several earlier occasions, has now had its charter definitely revoked as a unit of the Legion. This post has long been rebellious against intolerance and the grabbing of special privileges for veterans. When the group vigorously opposed the adoption of an amendment to the New York State constitution granting war veterans an absolute preference over any non-veteran for appointment to civil-service positions, the post was officially threatened with suspension or loss of its charter. On at least two other occasions, when it opposed Legion interference with academic freedom and with the orderly administration of alien deportations, demands were made by other Legion units for the exercise of disciplinary measures against it.

In 1932 the Willard Straight Post started the Scripps-Howard fight against the swollen benefits which were being paid to veterans by publishing a strongly worded telegram of protest against the Legion's responsibility for the enormous racket. The New York State Legion Executive Committee promptly countered by suspending the post from membership, without notice, charges, or hearing. The post objected to star-chamber methods; the suspension was lifted, charges were preferred, an open hearing was afforded, and the post was then formally suspended for three months for insubordination and intemperate language of criticism of Legion policies and methods. The action finally taken was eminently fair to the post, but the spirit of intolerance triumphed.

In December, 1932, the Willard Straight Post joined with a group of a dozen posts in New York City in adopting and publishing a mildly worded resolution opposing present payment of the bonus. Punishment was swift. At the next meeting of the State Executive Committee a resolution was adopted again suspending this one post and recommending that its charter be revoked by the national body, which alone has that power. No notice was given to the post of the committee meeting, no statement of charges was furnished, no opportunity for defense afforded. The resolution of suspension was silent as to the grounds for the disciplinary action, and the post was never able to obtain any statement whatsoever of the reasons for the action taken. None of the other posts which joined in the public anti-bonus plea have been disciplined, although it is understood that similar proceedings against one other post are contemplated.

In accordance with Legion procedure the Willard Straight Post appealed to the National Executive Committee, and was notified in advance of a hearing to which its representatives would be admitted. The post, however, could not obtain in advance any statement of charges upon which revocation of its charter was to be determined; it

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could only guess whether it was to be tried before the Legion high court for its insubordination in helping to launch the attack on the pension racket or for its opposition to the bonus. The post declined to appear before the high court for trial in the dark. Its charter was revoked and it ceased to be a unit of the Legion.

The Anthony Wayne Post, of Radnor, Pennsylvania, has also felt the ax of official disapproval. That group adopted and published last November a strong resolution opposing payment of the bonus as contrary to the spirit and purpose of the founders of the Legion and as working ultimate injury to the interests of all veterans. In March of this year the post adopted and published a further set of resolutions, condemning the financial effect of existing veteran legislation, pledging support for the President's economy fight, and condemning the present mismanagement of the Legion.

The Wayne Post was promptly put on the carpet, and at a State Executive Committee meeting, at which the post's representatives were present and permitted to speak, its charter was suspended and permanent revocation recommended upon formal charges of insubordination, of action tending to bring the Legion into disrepute, and so on. Appeal was taken to the national body, which confirmed the revocation. In this instance the procedure was open and relatively fair, far more so than in the case of the Willard Straight Post.

The Army and Navy Club Post, of Cleveland, Ohio, very recently ran afoul of the Legion bigots under similar circumstances. Last March the post sent messages to Ohio Congressmen in support of the President's economy bill. An Ohio Legion district convention instantly recommended suspension of the post's charter. The post replied by adopting full resolutions declaring the action of the National Legislative Committee and its chairman, John Thomas Taylor, in fighting the economy bill to be "detrimental to the American Legion and in opposition to the declaration of principles of the American Legion." The whole affair was laid before the Ohio State Executive Committee, which declined to take disciplinary action against the post in view of the confusion caused in Legion circles by the National Commander having practically repudiated the action of his Legislative Committee and, tardily, supported the President. Incidentally, the Army and Navy Club Post is the largest in Cleveland; it constitutes the backbone of the Legion in that community, and includes among its members many prominent citizens in business and professional life.

The constitution and by-laws of the Legion contain no single word which prohibits or in any way limits the power of any post (there are about 11,000 posts in the entire country) to express publicly its views on any question of interest, either pertaining to Legion affairs or to those of wider scope. The constitution does prescribe that the Legion "shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles." Nevertheless, the national Judge Advocate, as the legal officer, has ruled that no post may give *public* expression to any vote or opinion which is contrary to policies or views adopted by the national body. The ruling has no foundation or authority in the organic law of the Legion and its validity is clearly open to serious challenge. So long as it is in effect, it may be readily invoked and applied to stifle the public expression of minority views of dissent; witness the expulsion of the Willard Straight and Anthony Wayne posts. It will be used against other groups if they do not happen to be large in numbers or locally powerful, as was the Army and Navy Post of Cleveland.

When the Detroit convention of the Legion, held in October, 1931, yielded to the eloquent appeal of President Hoover and voted not to demand payment of the bonus, a considerable number of posts in various parts of the country kicked over the traces, repudiated the Detroit vote, and openly demanded immediate bonus payment. No action was apparently ever taken against them. They were too numerous; the pro-bonus feeling ran too high to risk splitting the Legion wide open for the sake of enforcing the appearance of solidarity by disciplinary measures. It depends on whose ox is being gored.

Two immediate issues confront the Legion—whether it shall cease to be a band existing principally to plunder the national and State treasuries by the exercise of political power and a paid lobby, and whether the spirit of intolerant suppression of minority dissent by exercise of the gag rule shall remain dominant. On the first issue the Legion has lost public confidence and thousands of its former members. On the latter issue it faces a vigorous fight from within. For the moment the forces of intolerance have the upper hand. Unless they can be defeated, the Legion will remain a definite potential menace to free government by democratic methods and institutions.

More than Sight-Seeing

By JOHN ROTHSCHILD

ONE does not visit a place just to be able to say that one has been there. The important thing is not where one has been but what one has seen and done there. It follows that the most rewarding experiences come to those who have some purpose in traveling, and who approach the foreigners they meet on the basis of mutual interest in work or hobby. Such travel combines the excitement of exploring new places and seeing new people with one's serious interests in life. It is in consequence far more interesting than a mere sight-seeing jaunt.

The Drama League Travel Bureau (Hotel Barbizon-Plaza, New York City) will send a group of students and teachers of the dramatic arts to England for a migratory summer session at the Central School of Speech and Dramatic Art, affiliated with the University of London. Those who are accepted for the trip will receive scholarships in the school. The program includes two weeks in London, a week in Oxford taking part in John Masefield's "verse-speaking contest," a week in Stratford-on-Avon for the Shakespeare Festival, and two weeks at the Malvern Festival. Olivia Hobgood, of the Wellesley speech department, is leader of the group. The round-trip inclusive cost is $493.

An American summer school will be conducted in Moscow and Leningrad this summer by two American educators cooperating with Russian scientists and educators. Two courses are offered: Experimental Educational Programs in the Soviet Union, and Contemporary Trends—Political, Technological, and Cultural—in the Soviet Union. The American directing staff comprises Professor Harvey N. Zorbaugh, of the School of Education, New York University,

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and Professor Daniel H. Kulp, II, of Teachers College, Columbia University. Students will sail on the Paris on July 1, returning September 4; the round-trip cost including tuition totals $455. Inquiries should be directed to Irving V. Sollins, School of Education, New York University.

The Odyssey Cruise through the Mediterranean will sail for the eighth time from Venice on July 10. The S. S. Cracovia, a Lloyd Triestino ship, will poke its way into nearly thirty ports, most of them inaccessible to large ocean liners but well known to yachtsmen. Informal talks on history, art, and archaeology by authorities in those fields supplement sight-seeing on shore. The cruise members are limited to eighty-five. Connections may be made with the Cracovia by Italian-line sailings up to July 1. The cost of the cruise, including all shore trips but excluding transatlantic passage, is $575 and up.

A summer of wandering in Germany is being arranged for groups of high-school students under the auspices of New College, of Columbia University, New York. The sixty-day tour costs $290 round trip from New York. There will be two groups, one of boys, one of girls, limited to twenty-five each. American and German leaders will emphasize the serious purpose of the trip—the appreciation of the life and culture of a foreign land through close association with its young people. New College recommends foreign study in rather prolonged periods to its students, and arranges for them in foreign universities. This year the centers of study will be in England, Germany, and France.

The second student delegation to the Soviet Union is being organized by the National Student Federation of America at the invitation of the students of Moscow State University. The Russian students will act as hosts and guides during a three weeks' visit. The round trip costs $376. G. Mennen Williams, Princeton '33, has been appointed leader. In order to build a representative group, three students will be accepted from a college, but graduates of not more than three years' standing are eligible as members of the delegation. The Open Road, 56 West Forty-fifth Street, is making the arrangements for travel in Russia.

The National Student Federation is sending 100 American college girls abroad this summer in small parties. Friendly social contacts with foreign students at picnics, dances, teas, and country week-ends are arranged through the National Union of Students of England. The following tours will be offered: "The British Isles and Germany"—fifty-seven days in England, Germany, and Paris—$698 round trip from New York; "Germany, Russia, and Central Europe"—a week in London, three days in Berlin, a week in Russia, a week in the cities of Central Europe, and a canoe trip down the Danube—$696 round trip; "Medieval and Renaissance Art"—fifty-six days in England, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, and France, with plenty of time in each city and a free period of five days for individual exploration—$698 round trip. Leaders of the parties are outstanding students. The National Student Federation also arranges for individual travelers, both men and women, who want to take walking or canoeing trips in Europe and to make contacts with European students.

(This is a continuation of the list of unusual tours which was begun in The Nation *last week. It is the third of a series of columns devoted to travel information of special interest to* Nation *readers.)*

In the Driftway

WHEN a little girl in Pennsylvania set off across the fields from home to put a dream into execution she had a great adventure, took a dignified and experienced justice in the New York Children's Court by storm, and widened the horizon of jaded newspaper readers to include a little French girl dwelling beside the River Isère. For twenty-four hours Mlle Michèle d'Idier lived among us. According to her romantic story, she had bought a ticket from Grenoble to Havre with money her father or a friend of her father's—it is not clear which—had given her to buy a new dress. She had slipped aboard the Lafayette without attracting notice. An oiler found her, kept her secret, and brought her food. In New York he lent her his overalls and she just walked down the employees' gangplank. She had set out, she said, in "a state of high excitement" without thought of the worry she might cause her parents, who, she said, were poor but "very nice and kind." On board she had played with dogs in transit. She had a brother, eight, she said, who in spite of his tender years "worked in the fields." She herself was in the "fifth lycée." All of this in broken English and French that fooled everyone until she met another Frenchman. It was then that Mlle d'Idier turned into Mary Whittier of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, who in tears confessed that she was American, a pure American—"but I was in Grenoble for two years with my father and I liked it there. I wanted to go back again and get away from this awful small-town life."

* * * * *

MARY WHITTIER has gone back to Pennsylvania, and the Drifter hopes that her mother will not mind too much. Mary ran a risk of course in coming alone to New York with a dream, ten dollars, a lovely face, and a tin box containing a washcloth, a red silk dress, and a bar of soap. It is always dangerous to take one's dreams into the market-place. But aside from the fact that a dream is often its own protection, the Drifter wonders if the risk is any greater than the one involved in Mary's bitter unhappiness with "this awful small-town life." It is altogether likely that Mary will be happier from now on. She has had the thrill—and the fright—of that great adventure she craved. She may now find the security of home not quite so monotonous as it was. As for the hated "small-town life," it may also become more bearable. In a small town a little girl who has been to New York alone and almost succeeded in getting to France takes on an importance among her playmates that will prove very soothing to a sensitive child who probably felt before she ran away that she did not "belong."

* * * * *

MEANWHILE Michèle d'Idier still exists as surely as a vivid character in a novel. Out of an intense desire Mary Whittier created the person she would like to be, and because Mary is obviously an artist she built up the character of Michèle by means of a selection of significant detail that a maturer and more conscious artist might well envy. The Drifter looks forward to the later creative works of Mary Whittier, grown older but not less gifted with imagination and a talent for invention.

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

Mr. Bernays Takes Exception

To the Editors of The Nation:

Mr. Rosner's main contention in his article on Knickerbocker Village in your issue of April 19, that the government ought to develop housing for the poor, would have weight if the government were to enter into the socialization of land and housing as a whole. At the present time the government has made no such commitment, and private industry has not been changed into socialized industry. Under the present system of private capitalism and the private ownership of property it seems to me that one effective method by which private industry can obtain the aid of the government (that is, the R. F. C.), is through the arbitrary limitation of dividends. The major interest of Fred F. French is in erecting dwellings for people of limited income at the lowest possible rental, without loss to those who assume the burden of the venture.

May I call your attention to certain errors in Mr. Rosner's article which should be corrected? He states that the property area is 165,000 square feet, whereas it is 219,000 square feet. He states that its value is $13 per square foot. As a matter of fact, much of the property was turned over to the corporation at less than the price Fred F. French paid for it.

It is stated that the Fred F. French Construction Company will receive a fee for its services. That is correct. It will be a modest fee, the lowest figure ever received in the history of the company in over $100,000,000 worth of real-estate operations. It is stated that the management fee will probably amount to $250,000 per year. One zero has been incorrectly added. The fee is 2 per cent, or less than $25,000 a year.

It is stated that another of "Mr. French's profits will depend upon his ability to reduce actual cost below $41 a room." As a matter of fact, any such profit will go toward liquidating the loan with the government and then reducing rents, because the law prevents the owners from getting more than 6 per cent.

It is stated that R. F. C. funds for housing will be used in many parts of the United States to help tide over hard times. That is what the Knickerbocker Village project will do—it will help unemployment relief, increase the use of supplies and materials, generally expand the whole credit structure and the credit system, and provide better housing for low-income families with a maximum profit of 6 per cent to the owner.

New York, April 27 Edward L. Bernays
On behalf of Knickerbocker Village

And Mr. Rosner Replies

To the Editors of The Nation:

I did not state that the property area of the Knickerbocker Village is 165,000 square feet. I said that Fred French Operators owned 165,000 square feet of property which was to be turned over to the Knickerbocker Village, Inc., at a price of two million dollars, or $13 a square foot. I was aware that another 54,000 feet had yet to be purchased, but that will not represent any additional investment by the French organization.

I was also aware that Mr. French had paid more than $13 a square foot for the property which was being turned over at that price. That does not, however, make Mr. French a public benefactor. Much of this property was acquired at inflated values as part of a speculative building enterprise. In the present market it is worth much less than $13. Mr. French is probably delighted that he is able to get such a high price for his property at this time. My point was, and still is, that low-cost housing cannot be provided on land that costs $13 a square foot.

As for the management fee, Mr. Bernays and I are talking about two different things. My article made it perfectly plain that $213,000 of the $250,000 I mentioned as the management fee would be needed to meet legitimate operating expenses such as repairs, labor, and cost of fuel. I said that Mr. French's profits from management would be $37,000. That is the figure that should be compared with Mr. Bernays's figure of $25,000. At the time I wrote the article, no management fee for Mr. French's services had been fixed. I had to estimate what the profits to the French Management Company would be. I am delighted to learn that Mr. French's profit for management will be $25,000 annually instead of $37,000, although I still think it is too much. My estimate, it turns out, was pretty close.

I certainly do not agree with Mr. Bernays's contention that government housing must wait upon the socialization of all land and housing. One might as well argue that we shouldn't have a public-school system because we still have private schools for the well-to-do. It is a well-established practice of modern government that public agencies should meet the needs which private enterprise does not meet. Just as education was made a public function because private schooling was too expensive for the poor, likewise housing should be made a public function. Who can say that education is more important than housing?

New York, May 1 Henry J. Rosner

To What Purpose?

To the Editors of The Nation:

In your issue of May 3 one of your correspondents—Theodore J. Scherz—threatens to withdraw his long-standing subscription to *The Nation* because of your biased and unfair attitude to the new German government. To console you for that loss I wish to say that I know quite a number of your readers who, like myself, feel that what you have said and published on the German situation was the only civilized thing to do in the face of facts and circumstances.

American friends of Hitlerism seem to derive their information from a common source. Thus one reads that Bruno Walter was not allowed to conduct his orchestra because he did not share his salary with his less fortunate Christian colleagues. Your correspondent forgets to say that the modest property of Professor Einstein was plundered and confiscated because he was a reputed Communist in the pay of Moscow, and that he was caught red-handed in a plot to bring Stalin over to Berlin and have him crowned emperor of Germany.

I have no hope of converting your dissenting correspondent, but I wonder to what purpose he has been reading *The Nation* for twenty years.

Philadelphia, May 4 Nathan L. Rubin

The Nation Wanted in Japan

To the Editors of The Nation:

To my great regret I am no longer financially able to subscribe to *The Nation*, although I have found it very useful in my teaching of English. I wonder if one of your readers would be willing to send me his copy each week. If so, I should be extremely grateful. My address is Tanabecho, Nishimurogun, Wakayamaken, Japan.

Wakayamaken, Japan, April 6 Seitaro Matsuba

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Books, Drama, Art

Dream

By VIRGINIA MOORE

I dreamed I cast no shadow, and you none,
Under the slant-rayed sun,
And wandering in a green and flowering glade
We dragged at heel no shade.

Nor had we memory of the years of death
Before we failed in breath,
Nor hint that teeming dark shaped to our size
Stooped when we tried to rise. . . .

I dreamed I picked a flower from the dew.
No dark flower made it two.
A flock of birds went over, nor cast a pale
Company on the vale.

Mr. Douglas Recollects

Looking Back. By Norman Douglas. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

A LITTLE more than ten years ago everyone was reading "South Wind." The book had been slow to catch on, but once it was started on its course, sales were increased by that indelible sign of popularity—word-of-mouth advertising. Friends stopped one another to praise the book, and each new reader felt the private joy of making a discovery. It became the fashion to talk of Capri as an earthly paradise, a place where civilized, "interesting" people spoke lucid prose, met, drank, and carried forward their love affairs to irresolute conclusions. Even today faint echoes of this world are heard in Noel Coward's "Design for Living" on Broadway. The setting, of course, has changed, and "South Wind" no longer lures American tourists to the Bay of Naples.

What of its author, Norman Douglas, that engaging, shabbily dressed, audacious middle-aged Englishman who appeared in Mackenzie's "Vestal Fire," that sinister, crapulous schoolmaster of the D. H. Lawrence-Magnus reputation? He is now an old man with the authority of years behind him; he is the sage of Capri, and his time is ripe for writing memoirs. Obligingly he assumes the responsibilities attendant on old age and literary celebrity. He was never the man to withdraw from such opportunities. Very well, he will perform once more, but he will turn the trick with a difference. He assigns himself a game, a device to keep himself from falling asleep. Here is a tray of calling cards, some of which date back fifty years, while some were left but yesterday. He selects them at random, and the engraved names spur his memory. Some are blanks; others are rich with desirable associations. Wilfully he can choose to forget or to remember; the game has all the charm of complete informality, yet its practice is a premeditated art.

First of all we become aware that Norman Douglas is a Victorian, but that comforting assurance needs, in this case, explicit modification. His taste for adventure, his scientific curiosity, even his accomplishments as a linguist stem from a civilization and a period that produced a Darwin and a Richard Burton. His family had proper connections; enough at any rate to secure him a Continental education, the hope of a small income which never materialized, and a post in the Foreign Office. We may conclude that Douglas was always poor but had what were called "advantages," that is, the right to regard himself as a gentleman and naturally to assume the tastes and attitudes of an established leisure class. The wherewithal to live was by no means as definite as these intangibles of social position; a sensitive young man with the perceptions of an aesthete, model 1890, required, more than all else, the wit of a well-trained parasite, the means of living on richer, duller people than himself. In the laissez faire society in which Douglas moved, or rather was trained to move, with grace and the good fortune of a delicately modeled profile, his chances for success were almost even, with the odds against him. It is impossible to pass moral judgment upon him, for he won at a game where moral conduct was not at stake; his loss was personal, a sacrifice of human wisdom and what ancient philosophers called the soul.

Under the influence of mild corruption Douglas grew ripe, and the product of his autumn mellowness was "South Wind"; now, for all his grace, we find him turning rotten. His taste has grown uncertain; one can trust him only for specific commentary on the quality of wine, food, and the physical beauty to be found in young people of both sexes. He retains a flair for pure gossip; read his notes on Frank Harris, Rupert Brooke, D. H. Lawrence, W. H. Hudson, Krupp of Essen, and others disguised under false names. I shall not attempt to recite the episodes here, for like the art of all good gossips, his style does not permit translation. Douglas's manner of voicing a catty remark or of expressing a malicious elevation of the eyebrow does not reflect credit on his would-be imitators. One must go back to the original text.

Throughout the book one is reminded of Douglas's nostalgia for the dead world left so irrevocably behind him, in which even his own "South Wind" lies buried. He feels that the war cut his life in two, and that nothing since the war has had the right flavor. No doubt he would join Ezra Pound in saying:

> All things are made foul in this season . . .
> No more do my shaftes fly
> To slay. Nothing is now clean slayne
> But rotteth away.

He quotes, however, Professor Franz Leydig of Bonn University, with this observation: "He supplied me with a formula for avoiding those flat lands of life where men absorb each other's habits and opinions to such an extent that nothing is left save a herd of flurried automata. I think with gratitude of that old man."

HORACE GREGORY

The Way of the Reformer

100,000,000 *Guinea Pigs.* By Arthur Kallet and F. J. Schlink. The Vanguard Press. $2.

CONSIDERED as a subspecies of *homo sapiens,* reforming crusaders seem as odd fish to the detached and realistic human biologist of today as they did to his worthy predecessor, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, born four hundred years ago last February. What makes them seem funny is not so much their purpose, which at least is made to appear always noble either in fact or in intent, but rather their technique. Asserting with ear-splitting vehemence their own honesty, purity, and high-mindedness, the crusaders almost invariably then proceed to use precisely the same kind of intellectually and morally indecent methods to sell their wares that they object to when the other fellow uses them in his line of trade. What puzzles the bystander whom God did not tap for membership in the reforming brotherhood is why exaggeration, insinuation, misplaced emphasis, and other assorted kinds of chicanery are

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so commonly regarded as different and more commendable when employed in one cause than they are when used in another. One does not forget, of course, that hardy persons have been known to allege, and even sometimes to act upon the principle when engaged in dubious enterprises, that the end justifies the means. But surely nobody except a crusader *pur sang* ever believed that this argument made the means smell any sweeter.

These remarks are suggested and, I regret to say, in some degree given point by the treatise before us for consideration. Some parts of the book have appeared in condensed form in the columns of *The Nation* during the past year. Having read them there, I looked forward with at least a modicum of eagerness to reading the complete opus, as I imagine a good many other people did. Residues of our lowly biological origin make us all inclined to feel a certain pleasure and vicarious virility in seeing someone else get a "sock on the jaw," as Mr. Shaw so wittily puts it; especially when the "someone else" is a soulless corporation and therefore no man's friend. And this book certainly smashes about with a fine frenzy. The uninformed and careless reader is likely to get the impression that there are few if any advertised foods, drugs, or cosmetics that escape a deserved castigation.

As a matter of fact, the book will sorely disappoint the judicious, and for a simple reason: it is written for the avowed purpose of passing judgment upon the actions and motives of certain groups of men (food and drug manufacturers and officials) and upon the products of their activities (foods and drugs and the enforcement of the Pure Food Law). But it states only one side of the case; and in doing so freely employs most of the devices known to demagoguery, propaganda, and Mr. Ivy Lee as useful in inflaming the emotions and subduing the reason, to the end that the jury may be prejudiced against the other side. Compared to Messrs. Kallet and Schlink, the late Webster Thayer seems almost the perfect paragon of judicial fairness.

From this point on I shall speak only of such parts of the book as relate to foods. The reason is that I have some first-hand knowledge of the food industries, and none of the drug industry. I prefer to restrict my criticisms to the field of my competence, such as it is.

The general impression conveyed by the book is (1) that food manufacturers and dealers in this country are in a sort of gigantic conspiracy, aided and abetted by the officials of the government appointed to enforce the laws, to purvey to the 100,000,000 guinea pigs playfully alleged to constitute the American people a great deal of poisoned and adulterated food, for the dual purpose of conducting toxicological experimentation and reaping vast wealth; (2) that such few pure and good foods as may be found on the market are, because of their high price, available only to the well-to-do; and finally (3) that all decent citizens should immediately take after the rascals who are poisoning and cheating us, and give them a proper beating up. This impression is created by describing and discussing in great detail selected examples of flagrant but exceptional frauds and abuses. Then by subtle insinuation these cases are so generalized that the uninformed reader is likely to be seduced into regarding them as universals. There is a notable absence of even an attempt at any statistical proof of the alleged dangers or harm done by bad foods.

This kind of expository technique does not give a fair picture of the actual case. It neglects certain highly important considerations of which we have space to mention here only two, namely: first, that the great bulk of manufactured foods of all kinds achieve and maintain a remarkably high standard of quality and purity, all things considered, and are sold at reasonable prices, having regard to their cost of production and marketing (as is evidenced, for example, by the wide range of canned foods of unimpeached quality sold by the great grocery-store chains); second, that for something like two decades past practically every important branch of the food industry (manufacturing) in this country has been aggressively educating and policing its own membership, not for the purpose of devising new ways to cheat the consumer, but upon the sound theory that honesty is the best policy, and that the security of the industry can best be insured by improving the quality and lowering the cost of the product, both of which results have been accomplished to a really remarkable degree, as any honest man who can remember conditions of from thirty to forty years ago can testify.

There are, of course, quacks and rascals in the food industries, just as there are in the more high-toned professions. There are, indeed, far too many such birds in all our aviaries. But after all they do not constitute the whole population. Again the federal Food and Drugs Act could and should be greatly improved. It is idiotically inadequate, though incidentally this book tells only a part, and in my opinion the less important part, of the story of why it is as poor as it is. But it seems unlikely that much progress will be made toward its improvement by any such intemperate methods as some of those advocated by the present authors in the final chapters of their book. They seem singularly oblivious to the profound wave of resentment which has gone over this country against the prohibitionist and all his ways.

In brief, this is a book for uplifters by uplifters. For such it will seem a noble document, to which there can be no effective answer, or even the mildest disagreement. To the other moiety of mankind, who cherish ideals of fairness and moderation, it will seem an intemperate, misleading, and therefore potentially pernicious presentation of the case against a state of affairs which, though obviously far from perfect, is steadily improving.

RAYMOND PEARL

The Party Line on Love

The New Commandment. By Panteleimon Romanof. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

THIS is the story of a man who has to choose between love and his career, and of a woman whose possessive passion threatens to throttle its object. Not a very novel theme, nor are any unexpected psychological changes rung on it. If it were an American novel it could be ticketed as a provocative serial for the Woman's Page, sure to arouse a flood of controversial correspondence. But in its Soviet setting this old theme acquires edge and import, and strikes one as urgently as if the problem had never been posed before. The phenomenon carries its own explanation. Certainly the author is not responsible, for the novel is no arresting piece of work by purely fictional standards. It is simply a reflection of the fact that all our values—economic, social, moral, and aesthetic—are undergoing a profound reappraisal in Russia, with the result that many emotions and experiences which we take for granted because they have become part of us are projected there as on a screen and made visible to us for the first time.

One of these things is love—modern romantic love, the flower of Western individualism, which is developed to its subtlest in prerevolutionary Russian literature. In the test tube of Sergei Mamaev's peasant soul this cultivated emotion, which has transcended its sexual roots, is beautifully isolated and analyzed. Sergei is a peasant youth who has risen to a responsible position in the party organization in Moscow. Like many of his comrades he has a peasant wife in his native village from whom he has been separated by the revolutionary tide. In a Moscow office he meets Ludmilla, a beautiful and cultured member of the intelligentsia, a being whose books he had de-

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voured at the country school. He goes through the process of falling in love with her—a common enough phenomenon by our bourgeois standards, but something balefully beautiful and unsettling to this peasant Communist. From the first he resists it. "Stranger's clothes which do not fit us," he calls that lofty sentiment with its delicate refinements of feeling which Ludmilla accuses communism of destroying. "And with what will you clothe yourselves?" she presses him. "Perhaps some of the old things will do," he replies; "the rest will have to be new." But in the end he succumbs to its deadly fascination. He divorces his peasant wife and marries Ludmilla.

After a while Sergei discovers that being in love with a woman like Ludmilla is a full-time job, an exacting, highly specialized technique, like toe dancing or acrobatics, which unfits one for any other occupation. To Ludmilla that was only as it should be—but Sergei was in love, also, with the Communist Party. He begins to realize that this poetic emotional conceit, which was such a beautiful leitmotif in the spiritual décor of bourgeois culture, is otiose and even dangerous in a proletarian culture. It takes up too much time, for one thing. It unites two individuals in an unsocial alliance against the rest of the community. It is a lump in the social dough, a species of emotional hoarding which retards the free circulation of individuals necessary in a Communist society. And in addition he begins to wonder whether this absorbing need of another is not symptomatic of emotional emptiness rather than of emotional overflow. Inevitably their married romance collapses, and he leaves behind a note telling Ludmilla that his life "demands movement and communion with the whole world and not with a single being."

"The New Commandment," however, does not add to Romanof's stature as a novelist. As in his earlier "Three Pairs of Silk Stockings," Romanof shows himself a conscientious realist, devoid of technical or psychological inventiveness. His characters give one only too convincingly the impression of being taken from "real life," and therefore out of their element in the pages of a novel which should be peopled by characters created for the purpose. On the whole, judging by available translations, post-revolutionary Russian fiction puts its best foot forward in the short story. With the notable exception of Pilniak, none of the new novelists has measured up to prerevolutionary standards, whereas in the several anthologies that have been published here one comes again and again upon stories worthy of Tolstoy and Chekhov at their best.

ALTER BRODY

Objectivity Is Not Enough

What Is American? By Frank Ernest Hill. The John Day Company. $2.

BECAUSE America is still in process, one grasps at any attempt to pin down its qualities with something of the craving of a woodsman for a look-out among the trees. Florescence and formation are around one, but very rare still are the sudden recognitions which come from orientation.

In his surveying effort, Mr. Hill chooses the extensive rather than the intensive method, focusing on common American experience under the heads of Blood and Land, Frontiers, God, Democracy, and the Machine, rather than on the higher peaks of individual expression. To this task he brings a pleasing inclusiveness and matter-of-factness which in a way mark an advance over the fevered uneasiness of many similar attempts at national self-analysis. He is cordial toward the diverse and non-dominant racial elements—the Indian, the Negro, and the later immigrations; he is hospitable toward special American experience wherever it has made a mark. He is perhaps over-complacent with regard to the permanent adequacy of our political traditions. His conclusions are mild and affirmative as he points out certain qualities which differentiate Americans from Europeans: friendliness as distinguished from courtesy, and an initial good-will rather than suspicion; classlessness and self-respect; a prizing of results above quality; a feeling for spaciousness and plenteousness; a belief in education and experiment.

The limitation of "What Is American?" lies in this same horizontal equanimity. Though the objective attitude has freed itself from an uneasy subconscious element really European in origin, such as marks the studies, for instance, of Van Wyck Brooks (but also intensifies them), it is merely a halfway stage toward a creative and proper American subjectivity. This deepening quality, while long present in American expressive fields, has appeared but sparsely in American criticism; so far, in fact, an Englishman, D. H. Lawrence ("Studies in Classical American Literature"), has perhaps most strikingly touched it. Should Mr. Hill wish to continue his explorations, he will do well to risk deeper soundings. "What Is American?" remains at best an outline.

FERNER NUHN

Shall We Legalize Abortion?

Abortion: Legal or Illegal. By A. J. Rongy. The Vanguard Press. $2.

DR. RONGY estimates that nearly 2,000,000 abortions are performed annually in the United States, and that nine out of every ten women have at some time in their lives experienced at least one abortion. Should we allow an error of even 50 per cent in these figures, an assumption which is not warranted, it is still apparent that we are dealing with a topic of universal interest and not merely with an academic medical problem.

Probably 95 per cent of these operations are done illegally. If the woman can afford the current high rates, she may be fortunate enough to obtain the services of a skilled expert whose only fault is haste. Too often she has to employ an incompetent midwife who has no knowledge of, nor regard for, asepsis. Worst of all, she may try to induce the abortion herself. The result is a staggering incidence of post-abortion infection leading to chronic invalidism, sterility, and death. One author, quoted by Dr. Rongy, estimates 15,000 deaths annually in the United States following abortion.

From this reprehensible state of affairs Dr. Rongy seeks an escape by urging the legalization of abortions. He argues that since the laws against abortion are broken without any feeling of criminal action, and since these millions of abortions will be done anyway, it is more sensible to have them performed by competent physicians in proper hospital surroundings. To support his stand he describes the experience in Russia, where abortions have been legalized and are performed under careful medical supervision, and compares the morbidity and mortality figures of that country with statistics from other parts of the world.

It is well to remember that except in the tenets of the Catholic church the civilized world has in different degree made provision for legalized or therapeutic abortion. In the United States the law allows a physician to interrupt a pregnancy if he is convinced that the life or health of the mother is endangered. Russia simply has extended the indications. One must not imagine that in Russia an abortion may be had for the asking. The proper authorities must be satisfied that there is good reason for it. The difference is that in contrast to the narrow physical indications prescribed by the rest of the world, Russia recognizes that the social, economic, and mental effects that the child may have on the mother are perhaps as important as the

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physical effect. Apparently the Russian birth-rate has not suffered despite the increase of legal abortions. It is this wider interpretation of legality that Dr. Rongy urges.

Actually the communal attitude, even in the United States, is much more liberal than the law. Dr. Rongy, to illustrate this, mentions a recent criminal rape case (he gives no details) in one of the insular possessions of this country, in which, during the course of the trial, it was revealed that the woman had become pregnant and had taken steps to prevent the birth. No comment was made by the bench though the woman had in her statement confessed to a criminal act. That the law does take its course with less fortunate individuals the reviewer has seen in the case of a white girl who had been raped by a Negro and who was refused an abortion when she appeared as a clinic patient. She subsequently gave birth to a mulatto child.

Dr. Rongy quotes a series of 40,000 abortions in Russia with only 2 deaths. The mortality in the United States on the basis of these figures and those given above is 150 times as great as in Russia. On the other hand, an editorial in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* which appeared after Dr. Rongy prepared his book (February 4, 1933, p. 341) quotes another Russian author who reports 13 fatalities in 1,815 abortions, a mortality nearly as great as that among the illegal abortions done here. But in two later issues of the same journal (April 15, 1933, p. 1212, and April 29, 1933, p. 1378) two articles from Russia are abstracted in which 26,051 cases are summarized with only 2 deaths. Such statistical discrepancies point to the need for more careful study. Dr. Rongy does not help to solve this dilemma, because he also presents his statistics with insufficient detail and without analysis of their origin and accuracy. The book is to be severely criticized for its failure on this point, especially as its arguments are otherwise so convincing.

Dr. Rongy faces courageously an important social and medical problem which is almost ignored by organized medicine in this country. The editorial mentioned above, which appeared in the official publication of the American Medical Association, is an indication of the treatment of the topic. Incomplete, selected statistics are presented to support a prejudiced conclusion that even legal abortions are dangerous. There is no mention of what should be done about the 2,000,000 abortions that are performed here without regard to any laws.

DAVID BERES

Views of Lincoln

President Lincoln. By William E. Barton. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $7.50.

Lincoln: A Psycho-Biography. By L. Pierce Clark. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

A STUDENT of Lincoln for many years, Dr. Barton had the patient persistence and talent for details which made him most competent in hunting down facts, in exploding accretive myths, and in reading critically a wide range of literature collateral to his own immediate subject. "President Lincoln," the last three chapters of which were written by W. H. Townsend after Dr. Barton's death, expands the second volume of his "Life of Lincoln," published in 1925, with more documentation and less definiteness in assessing the greatness of the Civil War President. Lincoln's attitude toward John Brown, his nomination for the Presidency, the feeling of many that he was unfit for leadership in the impending national crisis, his final mastery of his distrustful and discordant Cabinet chiefs, chosen "not with a view of his own comfort" but because he needed them, his tribulations with incompetent generals on the Virginia front, his lack of military knowledge, which he turned

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into personal policy and insight, his satisfaction with Grant and Sherman, and his emancipation and initial reconstruction policies, form the heart of the book's lengthened narrative of the military events and leading personalities of the war. The dubious-minded Seward came to acknowledge the President's superiority; Chase, recalcitrant, whom Charnwood regarded as "a sneak," was not, in Barton's opinion, a betrayer: he "honestly believed" himself the ablest of the group, and felt subdued only when Lincoln deftly invited his resignation and that of Seward and then boldly brought them back again. McClellan, egotistic and dilatory, was impossible. Lee, with his "single-track mind," "provincial" grasp of affairs, and the South's distrust, grew into a great commander. Jefferson Davis, with the appearance of culture and aristocracy, was irritable and opinionated. The author neglected to handle the foreign policies of Lincoln, the financing of the war, or the economic and constitutional questions of the period, but he made his last book, within its limits, a true account of Lincoln and the war struggle, interesting especially for the general reader.

Mr. Clark's attempt to present Lincoln upon a Freudian canvas fails less through any lack of extended reading than through his apparent lack of a scientific thesis and temper. That Lincoln's "pent-up emotional reserve" found outlet in his will, his humor, and his ambition for power, is not a novel discovery nor is it an unusual experience. The author's book is too fatally fluent to make its case convincing.

L. E. Robinson

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Shorter Notices

The Mind of China. By Edwin D. Harvey. The Yale University Press. $3.50.

We are so accustomed to an aristocratic concept for the word "mind" that the title of this book first suggests a study of the Chinese philosophers. But the book is what the title in its most comprehensive sense implies. It describes the ideas that lie behind the folk institutions of the Chinese, particularly those affecting the after life and the careers of spirits through all the stages of the spirit world, from close haunting to the bliss of oblivion. The whole range of human emotions—bestial fear, class arrogance, and the most delicate pitch of sensitiveness—all are projected into the spirit world. Professor Harvey makes his interesting study of the Chinese folk mind still more relishing by apt and abundant quotations from the Chinese classics and collections of folk stories.

The New Russia. Edited by Jerome Davis. The John Day Company. $2.50.

A group of professors went to the Union of Soviet Russia in the summer of 1932. Thirteen of them contribute chapters to this symposium. They contain much meat. Dr. Frankwood Williams's discussion of the new psychology is the outstanding section of the volume. Miss Kingsbury of Bryn Mawr, who has made many visits to Russia, presents an excellent summary of the social-welfare system. Jerome Davis, writing on government and party, is not so thorough, while Dr. Ellsworth Huntington's paper on geography could have been dispensed with without doing the book any harm. Professor J. L. Gillin of the University of Wisconsin studied the problem he knows best, penology, and unearthed some valuable facts and underlying motives. Francis A. Henson, executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Federation at New Haven, gives a good layman's summary of Bolshevik ideology which, read with Dr. Williams's key essay, makes for enlightenment. Allan K. Smith on the legal system, Dr. Newell L. Sims on Soviet agriculture, Harry C. Krowl of the City College of New York on education, and the Douglases of Hood College on workers' lives are mediocre and inadequate. Dr. Karl Scholz of the University of Pennsylvania has garnered much data on industrial development from his several trips to Russia, while Dr. Alzada Comstock of Mt. Holyoke, who always writes intelligently about finance, needs another trip to refresh her knowledge. There is nothing new in this volume but it can be recommended as the most recent summary of easily collected facts and impressions of the U. S. S. R.

Spell Against Death. Poems by Harold Lewis Cook. Harper and Brothers. $2.

Mr. Cook is an expert rather than an important poet. His first book, "Spell Against Death," is undeniably better than most books of poetry now appearing. Most of the lyrics are compact, precisely phrased bits of intellectualized emotion. Most of them are on the themes of love and death. Mr. Cook is modern in his feeling that no emotion is pure and that no faith is entirely satisfactory, and also in his desire to return to that purity of emotion which can, in these days, be only momentarily known. Mr. Cook is a fine craftsman, although he shows no inclination toward working out new forms. He wastes no energy on descriptive adjectives. He points his phrases well. He controls his rhythms with skill. But he has, as yet, nothing very clearly his own to say, and no unusual medium for expressing what he says with force. His imagery inclines to the usual. His use of language is not strikingly individual. He touches the keys lightly and plays rather familiar music with grace.

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Regulation of Public Utilities. By Cassius M. Clay. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

The Fair Rate of Return in Public Utility Regulation. By Nelson L. Smith. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

These volumes are useful contributions to the current utility discussion. Both approach the intricate and controversial matter of regulation from the standpoint of existing methods of attempted rate control. Public ownership in any form does not come within their purview except by implication—Mr. Clay quotes Owen D. Young's testimony before a Senate committee that "we must learn how to regulate adequately our public service in private hands, or there will be no alternative but the public ownership of such services." This author, an attorney, gives an admirably objective, well-ordered, scholarly, and extremely readable survey of this aspect of the power question. Particularly valuable are his chapters tracing the gradual assumption of rate-making policies from legislative bodies by the United States Supreme Court under the increasing perversion of the "due-process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Somewhat less satisfactory is the chapter on holding companies, in which their alleged advantages are set forth, but their very obvious exploitative purposes merely suggested rather than adequately exposed. Thus, the writer's admission that "instances have undoubtedly occurred, however, in which holding companies have been superimposed or pyramided on top of one another, primarily for speculative gain in order that a relatively small financial interest might exercise control over great investments," is manifest understatement. Professor Smith's volume, winner of the second prize in the 1928 Hart, Schaffner, and Marx contest and thoroughly buttressed with citations and tables, discusses railroad, telephone, and water companies. Evidencing painstaking research, this study nevertheless leans a bit upon the writings of utility officials and utility-partial professors. Likewise it is fearfully dull and heavy reading—the trees almost obscuring the forest. The two volumes, indeed, furnish a contrast in readability, an object lesson to thesis-writers and academicians that it is possible and desirable to be both authoritative and interesting.

Drama

Two Farces

CHARM and farce are not usually associated. Nevertheless one will find them very agreeably combined in the "comedy" by Luigi Chiarelli, which Somerset Maugham has translated and the Guild has produced at its own theater under the title of "The Mask and the Face."

This amusing little divertissement begins as though it were drawing-room comedy of the most self-consciously sophisticated sort. The scene is an ever-so-elegant villa on the shores of Lake Como; the people are ever-so-elegant aristocrats, toying with their cigarettes after what must have been a perfect repast; and they are now discussing Life (that is, the peculiarities of Woman) through a series of epigrams which each obviously feels good enough to be written down. Gradually, however, one begins to be aware that things are not quite what they seem. Signor Chiarelli is spoofing the sophistication of his own characters and delicately emphasizing the artificiality of his own play. All the dramatis personae are so nearly perfected types that they suggest the simple puppet, and all the action is so neatly schematized that it begins to remind one vaguely of those farces of Molière in which palpably unreal situations are made the vehicle for a penetrating comment upon reality.

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of marital fidelity. Nothing, he thinks, is more ridiculous than a complacent husband, and the man who discovers that his wife is unfaithful can regain his self-respect only by killing her. But when he finds himself actually faced with the situation which he had so glibly discussed, this strong-minded fellow discovers a dilemma. He cannot actually bring his hands to close upon the throat of the guilty woman, and he can think of only one solution: she must disappear immediately and he will confess to the authorities that he has thrown her in the lake. So far all is relatively simple. But when, six months later, he returns from prison after a triumphal acquittal to find his friends waiting to congratulate him and a deputation of citizens determined to greet him as a hero, he begins to rebel. A murderous husband is equally—and more publicly—ridiculous than a complacent one. Nor are things made any better by the discovery of a body in the lake, and the consequent necessity for a very painful funeral. Meanwhile the wife has come back unbidden; she is discovered at the last place she ought to be found—namely, at her own interment—and of course the strong man gives in.

Judith Anderson, as the erring wife, plays with great aplomb. So does the rest of the cast, which shares with Philip Moeller a good deal of the credit for a very well-managed entertainment. Still more of it, perhaps, should go to the author and his translator, who have walked the tight rope with exhilarating skill. Signor Chiarelli is especially deft in maintaining an ambiguous tone and in clothing his puppets with just enough flesh to make them neither more nor less real than they ought to be. Perhaps the very serious will complain that his play is not very convincing. The moralistic may even protest that such a collection of Don Juans and nymphomaniacs has never been actually gathered together even upon the shores of Lake Como. But "The Mask and the Face" is nevertheless as convincing as it was intended to be, and it has, even, its moral: none of us can know whether or not we are really sincere when we are declaring what we believe to be our deepest convictions. We think that the mask is our real face until something tears it off.

Unexpectedly enough this normally unrewarding week of a dying season revealed another and equally amusing little comedy—Bourdet's "Best Sellers," acted at the Morosco Theater with Peggy Wood in the leading role and Ernest Truex perfectly cast as the modest young man who is catapulted into fame by winning the Zola prize for a novel based upon the diary which his wife kept before their marriage when she was in love with another man. The play is really two plays: the first act a satire on the publishing racket in France, and the others the story of how the wife found it necessary to supply her husband with another plot before he could continue his literary career. Perhaps the first is really the most amusing, and much of its satire is quite applicable to these United States, as when, for example, the publisher exclaims enthusiastically that he has published ten thousand copies of a certain book, "And when I say thousands I mean real thousands—five hundred apiece, not two hundred and fifty like some of these other fellows." But the second play is good too. The wife loses all her illusions concerning the novelist she has picked out for her second lover when she finds out that he has turned their little romance into a novel, but she resigns herself to the ways of the tribe on the discovery that her own husband has been working secretly on the story of his jealousy, and the curtain goes down upon a charmingly domestic scene. Peggy Wood is seated at a typewriter, as the devoted wife of an author should be. Ernest Truex, grown suddenly confident, is dictating from a manuscript: "On the train which was carrying them toward Orleans, he studied the face of his wife." Bourdet, like Chiarelli, has more skill than force and more technique than substance, but he, also, turns the trick by virtue of a deftness, a charm, and a certain neatness of structure which pleases even if it does not exactly convince. Incidentally, moreover, he succeeds in proving something which American playwrights need to learn, namely, that a topical play does not have to be exasperatingly raucous.

"H.M.S. Pinafore" (St. James Theater) is so far quite the best of Milton Aborn's series of Gilbert and Sullivan revivals. In fact, it is about as satisfactory a performance of that jolly piece as one is likely to see. "Patience" comes next.

Not much need be said of "9 Pine Street" (Longacre Theater), a play based upon the Borden murder case, which manages to remain pretty dull in spite of two killings with a flatiron and the presence of Lillian Gish as a very gentle murderess. Even less is required about "Hilda Cassidy" (Martin Beck Theater), a saga of the tenements which may have been influenced by "Street Scene" but fails consistently to awaken more than a very mild interest.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Films

Faulkner in Hollywood

SO far the talkies, in their search for material, have not overcome their preference for stage plays over novels or stories specially prepared for the screen. The reason for this preference has been obvious enough: dialogue, when it was first introduced, was a novelty that had to be exploited for all it was worth. Producers and directors forgot overnight the great refinements in acting and photographic effects that had been developed under the limitations of the silent medium. The first American talkies, like "Bulldog Drummond" and "The Letter," were almost literal reproductions of original stage plays; they usually turned out to be as successful as these plays and for the same reasons; and there seemed little reason why producers should not continue their raid on the Broadway theater indefinitely. The second stage did not occur until it became apparent that not all plays were equally suitable for screen adaptation. The effort was then to choose only such plays as would permit of a certain elaboration of setting and action, as would give at least an illusion of the motion that had characterized the old silent pictures. At the moment this stage seems to have passed into a third, in which the depletion by Hollywood of suitable plays produced in New York during the last ten or twelve seasons has created a rather desperate situation. The time has come when Hollywood is reduced to filming plays like "Our Betters" and "The Silver Cord," which, if they seemed static on the stage, seem considerably more so on the screen.

The only alternative—since Hollywood refuses to exert enough imagination to work out stories which have not already been worked out in some other medium—is a sortie into the contemporary novel. We have had Ernest Hemingway's "Farewell to Arms"; his "The Sun Also Rises," published in 1926, has at last found its way to the studios. And now Paramount offers us a truly extraordinary version of William Faulkner's "Sanctuary." "The Story of Temple Drake" (Paramount) is extraordinary because it departs a great deal from that book without sacrificing any of its essential quality. One may or may not like that quality, one may feel that the fascination of evil is among the least legitimate appeals that a work of art may make, but one cannot deny its presence in this picture. For the sustained moral horror throughout, the script-writer is primarily responsible; the adaptation is one of the most skilful in some time. A dramatic story is made from Faulkner's highly subjective narrative by the initial shifting of the center from Popeye to the girl Temple. It is Temple's story, as the

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title indicates; and her struggle with the destructive power of evil within and around her provides the objective structure. The result is very much more satisfactory than would be any attempted concentration on Popeye's psychopathic vagaries—even if that were possible on the screen. For some mysterious reason Popeye is rebaptized Trigger; he resembles the conventional movie gangster more closely than the vicious degenerate of the book. But as played by Jack LaRue he is hardly less sinister. The director, Stephen Roberts, deserves much credit for extracting the last ounce of horror out of certain scenes—those in the abandoned mansion, for example, particularly the one in which Popeye's movements in the dark are traced out by the course of his glowing cigarette end.

On the screen as on the stage, Sidney Howard's "The Silver Cord" (Radio City Music Hall) owes its persuasiveness pretty largely to the heavily underlined acting of Laura Hope Crews. As a talkie "The Silver Cord" suffers from most of the defects of the play: it is talky, repetitious, and by no means as striking in theme as it would have been fifteen or twenty years ago.

WILLIAM TROY

Art

The Rockefeller Coffin

BY a strange coincidence, at dawn of the day when Hitler was having Germany purged of everything Marxist, modern, and Jewish in its literature, the Rivera murals at Radio City were nailed into what may turn out to be a coffin. The wake was attended by a body of resolute gentlemen who the doorman said were tenants, two representatives of the owners, an army of guards and some mounted police, and some fifty carpenters. The mourners were Rivera and his assistants, three students who stayed outside the door when all visitors were ordered out of the building, and this writer, who did likewise. Also a photographer who learned at the door that there was a ban on pictures and reporters.

The operation was dramatic. It was plain that the operators meant to be quick, efficient, and still. It was plain, too, why; for the Rockefellers were caught between two nasty choices. Either they allowed the mural, Lenin notwithstanding, to be finished as a monument to their financial and intellectual generosity as patrons of the arts, and faced possibly seventy-two stories of empty office building; or they removed, destroyed, or wall-papered the painting and suffered a considerable loss of prestige as public uplifters and benefactors, which no doubt was the ideal they meant to serve when they engaged Rivera, one of the recognized great among living artists, to decorate the most prominent wall in the biggest building of Radio City.

Many critics have hastened to note that they erred in engaging Rivera at all, knowing that his political convictions and his aesthetic creed were inseparable. But the real error at the root of this and the rest of Radio City's misfortunes was the idea that they could at the same time build a cultural and artistic center for the public benefit, and make it pay. No critic would have laughed or carped at the Roxy fiasco if so much emphasis had not been laid on the artistic marvels that we were to acquire in Radio City; if, indeed, the public had not been informed so insistently that Radio City was the product of high-minded philanthropy. For no one expects high art to be sponsored as a piece of business and we are all familiar with the fact that when art is joined with business in shotgun wedlock, the offspring is usually crippled, sick, or monstrous.

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them if they *are* poorer by a few hundred millions. People who own seventy-two-story buildings just off Fifth Avenue can't fill them with rent-free laboratories, libraries, and studios. But is it necessary to say that Rivera violated the agreement, that his work doesn't harmonize with the architecture, that it isn't suitable for public view, and that the colors are too bright and the concept not imaginative enough, instead of admitting quite frankly that most business men object to renting space in a building where they and their customers must look at Lenin?

The canon Rivera has violated is the second-rate architects' creed that decoration, to be "harmonious," must be practically invisible; that neither in color, idea, nor style should it be anything that you stop to look at. Otherwise it isn't "restful," and it wastes time and may congest traffic, like the murals at the Boston Public Library. None of the great muralists of the past seem to have known this rule, perhaps because most of them were good architects as well as good painters.

The ban on Rivera has been good copy, and adds another comic footnote to the history of art. It has also encouraged a body of academicians to form a kind of society for the suppression of foreign art. They are going to break a lance in defense of the startling idea that an artist born outside of the American tariff wall is not necessarily superior to the artist sheltered within it. In the name of American art, we shall hear, down with purchases and contracts rewarding creatures not citizens of the United States! We note with patriotic alarm that one of the founders, Ulric Ellerhusen, was born in Germany, and we wonder about Jes Schlaijter; and would it be proper for a New Yorker to buy the work of Dean Cornwell, a Californian?

Let us ignore the law that interbreeding of ideas as well as of peoples makes for fertility and vigor; forget that Greco, the great Spanish painter, came from Greece, and that Picasso, the giant of France, is a Spaniard; decide that Dürer betrayed his art when he went to Italy to study. And why bother to remember that the Italian Renaissance thought that it was what its name implies—a rebirth and rediscovery of Greece? Instead, let us recommend that American art look carefully into the citizenship papers of Maurice Sterne, Max Weber, Noguchi, William Zorach, Lord Duveen—and let us have a bonfire in Radio City.

ANITA BRENNER

Contributors to This Issue

LOUIS FISCHER, Moscow correspondent of *The Nation*, is at present in the United States on a lecture tour.

ERNEST ANGELL was a captain in the American Expeditionary Force and has been commander of the Willard Straight Post of the American Legion.

SOONG CHING-LING, widow of Sun Yat-sen, is one of the leaders of the left opposition to the Nanking Government.

JOHN ROTHSCHILD is a confirmed explorer of out-of-the-way Europe. As director of the Open Road he established the pioneer service for travel in the Soviet Union.

VIRGINIA MOORE is the author of a book of poems, "Sweet Water and Bitter."

HORACE GREGORY is the author of a volume of poems, "No Retreat."

RAYMOND PEARL, author of "The Nation's Food" and "Alcohol and Longevity," is the director of the Institute of Biological Research of the Johns Hopkins University.

DAVID BERES is a practicing physician in New York.

L. E. ROBINSON is professor of English at Monmouth College and author of "Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters."

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